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ABSTRACT

This report is based upon data collected from grade 9-11 students and teachers during the pilot test of the course, Black in White America, in Boston during 1969-70. Pre- and posttesting was conducted to determine (1) changes in student thinking about problem issues in race relations and changes in understanding course concepts; (2) students' judgments of materials, exercises, and teaching and learning styles; and (3) student and teacher attitudes toward course content, personal reaction to course, use of ideas about race issues, and teachability of course. First, interview data from the six teachers participating in the pilot test is presented and interpreted. The second section explores student experiences, emphasizing the climate of opinion on racial matters and how young people from a variety of classroom situations responded to the course. The third section presents analyses of the objective data by comparing student learning and attitudes. Findings indicate that, in general, students thought about racial matters in much the same way both before and after taking the course. Finally, students' sex, residential background, race, and classroom environment are compared as variables for race-related conceptual content. Pretests, posttests, and checklists indicate that urban black and white students in an integrated situation have relatively similar views about racial matters and about studying such topics in school. (Author/ND)

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Black in White America: The Struggle for Identity and Power

Results of the Pilot Test

Social Studies Curriculum Program
Education Development Center
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May, 1970

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I. Introduction

In defining objectives for Black in White America: The Struggle for Identity and Power, the EDC staff focuses the intellectual goals for students around:

1) conceptual structure (group image - group identity - power) to better understand and analyze black and white relationships;

2) additional information about past relations and confrontations between blacks and whites.

The major social learning goals are:

1) to legitimize racial relations as a topic which can be dealt with in the average classroom with candor (honest and direct expression of opinion and feeling) and rationality (i.e., there are some objective points to be learned and there are a number of valid ways of looking at the matter);

2) to direct student attention to the racial climate and facts of life of their own community, and with the context of the course as a basis for more informed and analytical questioning.

It is clear that the curriculum developers made the decision not to emphasize attitudes, attitude change, or the highly charged emotional responses of students to issues of race. We know, however, that attitudes and emotions are unavoidable concomitants of teaching this course, and constitute an area of great challenge to teachers. This evaluation will, therefore, attempt to illuminate the racial climate in a variety of classroom situations, in addition to assessing the success of the curriculum in achieving its stated goals. The report is based upon data[1] collected from students and teachers during the pilot test of the course in the greater Boston area during fall and winter of 1969-70.

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[1] The research design included several methods of exploration: pre- and post-testing of an objective type, to determine changes in student thinking about problem issues in race relations, and growth in understanding of course concepts; classroom environment checklists, to elicit students' judgments of materials, exercises, and teaching and learning styles; and student and teacher open-end interviews focused around questions of course content, personal reaction to the course, use of ideas and attitudes in thinking through race-related issues and (for teachers) assessment of the teachability of the course. The total sample consists of seven classes: urban -- one 9th grade, one 10th grade; fringe city -- one 11th grade; suburban -- two 9th grades, two 11th grades. To all of

We have given shape to this report with one overriding consideration in mind: what did we learn from our investigations that would be useful information for teachers who will be undertaking the challenge of this course?

We will begin with interview material, first presenting and interpreting the views of the six teachers who participated in the pilot test. Student experiences will then be explored, with an emphasis on understanding the climate of opinion on racial matters and how young people from a variety of classroom situations responded to the course. The final section of the report presents analyses of the objective data obtained from test and checklist results. Student learning and student attitudes toward this learning experience are reported and compared.

II. Teachers' Perspectives

In the Classroom:

One of the truly critical considerations for teachers working with issues of race in the classroom is the climate they wish to establish.

(Cont.)these classes the pre- and post-tests and checklists were administered. Twenty-three boys and 19 girls from these classes were interviewed periodically during teaching of the course in the fall and winter of 1969-70, and six teachers were interviewed at the end of the pilot test.

When we constructed the student test instruments, we made the decision that we would not test for specific information and recall. We did not emphasize learning gains in terms of factual achievement goals because we felt the time students spent taking the test could better be utilized in answering questions more pertinent to the goals of the course. What we did do was to assemble items that would give us several different perspectives of students' views and their understanding of course concepts. From results, we then made an assessment of changes in view and understanding of course concepts from beginning to end of the course. The interviews

What do you want your class to be like? In a social studies class, do you want students to learn socially interactive, democratic skills of give and take of ideas, exchange of opinions, and formulation of positions based on evidence and life experience? It can be a valuable preliminary to this course for the teacher consciously to reflect about the class environment he wishes to encourage and support, for his mood and style will prevail.

To explore classroom climate, we will draw on the experiences of the teachers putting Black in White America to its first trial. We stress the importance of the teacher's role in this course, because the pilot test clearly highlighted the impact teaching style made upon class receptivity and perseverance, on student attitudes toward shared exploration, and on the students' interpretation of issues at the end of the two-month trial.

Teachers during this testing found that presentation of views in an open classroom forum reassured youngsters that it was legitimate to present a point of view and that differing positions on issues would not be "punished" as some might expect:

> I always level with the kids and tell them what I believe and tell them in the same sentence that they don't have to believe it...If everybody was afraid of the teacher or believed what the teacher said because of a mark -- puppets, you know. You don't want that.

(Cont.) gave us the opportunity to sample students' specific use of the information in the course. In the interview protocols used in this report, many examples of the interview questions can be found. The test and checklist forms, and full sample responses, are included under the section on objective assessment.

This teacher felt the forum emphasis to be critical:

> That's important, to try to teach them how to express what they're thinking, especially on an issue like this.

In addition, he strove to use student-generated questions as the basis of much class discussion:

> Their questions were basically sound. They want to know what's what. And usually they can make a good point from whatever question they ask... I always hope the kids ask the questions in class.

He was expressing a position about competencies that can be developed in social studies classes; and one of these competencies, so important to the development of responsible citizens, is the ability to express ideas and opinions in the context of legitimate, serious discussion of critical national issues.

Controversial and contemporary materials used as foci for open participatory discussion can break down divisions between students and teachers and destroy walls that often exist between the two groups because of their traditionally different roles and duties within the school setting. This course triggers a range of adolescent concerns. Youngsters, if encouraged, will always lead toward their own interests, and the deeply important issues of their lives will surface in the classroom discussion. This course can be "safe," adhering closely to the materials, and provide some valuable learning; but it can also provide opportunities for real dialogue. For this latter to occur, the teacher must be prepared to listen to the full range of youth's concerns, not expecting to have answers to all the questions -- that is not even necessary. Sometimes answers emerge through the questions, as in the illustration below.

The importance of utilizing the activities and ideas of students themselves, and of using examples as close to home as possible when dealing with black-white issues, came out vividly in two illustrations from integrated all-male classrooms in a city school. The first teacher saw this course as differing from traditional social studies in that:

> ...in the discussion they're talking about things that they're somewhat familiar with rather than just, they read the book and then go over the material.

Class discussions had much to do with students' lives -- job discrimination students had experienced, etc. One day his class permitted the teacher to see their world in a way that had never happened in the classroom before.

> I mean one day we talked about shoplifting....I don't know how we got onto the topic but they educated me into it. Into shoplifting. Most of them don't do it any more because that's just for little kids to do...Al wanted to know, if there were two snow tires sitting on a curbside next to a car and there was nobody around, would I take them and put them in my trunk? They had assumed that I would. And I had to say, ...unless it was eleven or twelve o'clock at night and I happened to be at a party...drinking or something...then I might do it. But then I explained to them that if I did get caught and went to court and the judge said, what do you do for a living, and I said school teacher...they hadn't really thought of that...going to court and explaining to the judge who you are and what you did.
>
> Well, you know that whole day they explained to me about stealing cars...all the things that go on. I can't remember how we got onto that subject, but we got on it.
>
> (Do you think that you would have gotten on that subject in regular social studies?)
>
> Probably not...that was their day to talk... and they were teaching me...and you also wonder, well, what do you do then, do you moralize to the kids or do you just accept it? Some of this is exaggerating anyway...you hope some of it is.

The chance for reversing roles came along, and the teacher permitted the exchange. In the process, he pondered the role he should be taking: was his interested listening a tacit condoning of "lawless" behavior in the young? In this instance, it seems not. In his anxiety, he perhaps overlooked one of the important things that had happened during the conversation. He had answered their question about car-stealing honestly and openly; in the process had a chance to reveal to them much about the responsibility of adult roles in this society -- how taking on certain roles does indeed carry with it obligations to society that the committed person does not deny and that students would not want denied. In this sense, role modeling was indeed in effect. The teacher was behaving in an open, approachable way, students were responding, yet his values were made explicit and understandable in the most direct and sympathetic fashion: a rare opportunity for "teaching."

In the second example, the teacher used the suggested course exercise to convey the impact of discrimination. He had taken many opportunities to let black students express a sense of their lives. However, he wanted to give the white students a more immediate, personal insight into this phenomenon, so he used the following exercise:

> Well, having black kids in the class helps bring out what prejudice is all about...have they ever been discriminated against, have people ever treated them rotten? There was one exercise in one of the units I loved...to discriminate against one of the kids for a whole day or have somebody play a role in which he is discriminated against. Not black, white kids.

> I sent a white kid out of the classroom and I told him to come back in about five minutes. And I explained to the class, everybody will discriminate against this kid during the whole class time. We'll conduct a normal class and we'll have questions and discussions, but whenever he asks a question we'll say shut up or sit down. We won't let him do anything that normal people would do, and we won't listen to him and we'll be rude and at the end of the time we'll ask him how he felt. I wanted to do it over a whole day, but I don't see these kids enough during the day to get a result. So we tried it and you know, this is a pretty big white fellow, and by the end of the class he was a little red in the face. And the kids were having a pretty hard time keeping in the laughter, they wanted to laugh at him for getting so upset, and then we said, how do you feel? And he was going to fight everybody, he was going to take care of everybody. I think a lot of the white kids realized a lot better what being prejudiced is all about and how it feels to be discriminated against. Petty things aren't so critical but then I'd say, how would you feel if you were in this situation your whole life? Not only were you discriminated against in your classroom but when you went to buy a house or to buy a car, or get a job, this sort of thing. Oh, yeah, it makes sense.

It took some courage and some willingness to experiment to do this exercise. But the teacher's sense of confidence in his role, his ability to keep a somewhat light touch in the actual handling of the situation, while stressing the seriousness of its larger implications for minority groups, resulted in a stimulating, enactive exercise in that it brought home some of the psychological reality of the racial dilemma.

Teachers' Goals:

When teachers described their own goals in using Black in White America , they spoke of a range of purposes, all valuable and legitimate. Some teachers clearly wanted to increase the information their students had about black-white conflict and racial issues:

> Basically, I was trying to make students aware of the conditions of blacks in the U.S. and perhaps aware of their own prejudices -- how these prejudices were formed and perhaps how they could be eliminated. More of an information course about something they knew nothing about. And I would say in that case it was rather successful. They have retained an awful lot of information about it.
>
> (I wanted students to gain) a better understanding why the Blacks are complaining today...that they do have something to say...and why we should listen ......because all the kids in the class were white. ...At least they can understand what the Blacks think about things.

Another teacher, while less clear on content goals, did see clarification through information and exchange of ideas as a prime aim:

> I just went ahead and taught with the idea in mind that this would be more of a clarification course than anything else. Clarification of the issue of black-white relationships...Also to clarify the point that there are opinions and feelings other than what the kids themselves think and that in any opinion they're forming they should consider other people's feelings on the issues.

Still another put the value and purpose of the course in a more exploratory context, a venture into the topic of human behavior, with the material serving as a vehicle of exploration:

> It came down to more of trying to understand why people act and think the way they do, and do they have cause for doing it. I guess it's again feeling an empathy. That's what I was trying to project.

All of the teachers quoted above, however, concurred in a belief that an information base was essential for working with emotional responses to behavioral issues. However, these teachers were also concerned with "what students get out of the information" -- how were they able to use the information in thinking about their own experiences. There were teachers who began the course with a commitment to an historical approach, with the course serving as a basis of information and perspective, but who encountered situations where students became strongly and occasionally bitterly expressive about feelings. The same teacher whose class taught him about shoplifting, also had experienced a day of sharp and heated exchanges between his black and white students:

> I don't want to say what their feelings are in this situation. I didn't start out that way with that purpose. I mean I was interested in having them learn the historical approach, especially what has gone on in the past. But you know, the day it exploded, the question was there, was that a good thing or wasn't it? The more I think about it...

He was not sure that strong emotional expression in his class had been to the good, but on the basis of his total experience in teaching the course, he had modified his goals somewhat to incorporate expressive behavior as legitimate and important. (It should be mentioned that his students were ninth-graders and he felt strongly that he would not again teach the course to this young an age group in a technical high school; reading and other conceptual demands were, he felt, above their grade level.)

Teachers did find that teaching the course in all-white classes could produce an "unrealistic" situation, and that black students had much to contribute that would be totally missing in the all-white classes. The teacher of an integrated urban class found a "reality quotient" in his class mix.

> You can talk with white kids for hours on end about the black problem and get all sorts of crazy answers or wild ideas. Bring in a black person and have him sit in on the lecture and all of a sudden there's a big change.

Contrary to his colleague above he found:

> ...There are no problems in integrated classes talking together about these issues

One teacher summarized well what the group of teachers felt students had taken with them from the course:

> ...they learned well that prejudice does exist. They learned that there is a violent way and a peaceful way. They learned basically that there is a color line that you have to cope with, that, that's their problem, that it is something that has to be dealt with now.

Motivations to Learn:

In the test version of the course, it became apparent that some of the reading was naturally motivating; youngsters did not need to be prodded to do it. These readings were the stories and narratives, particularly in the booklet, "That's All that I Remember." Other readings, however, were not so motivating, and teachers found that some oral reading in class was one way of insuring coverage. The documented materials, non-narrative, informational content generally fell in this category.

> I think that these kids get the most out of it when they can feel how the other person is feeling, and I think that comes through in the earlier materials. I think the first hand accounts are much more appropriate because people are speaking the way they would speak to somebody else. And, therefore, the kids can understand it.

It is necessary to return to and use the triggers to involvement. Even in suburban classes without marked reading comprehension problems, these factors were emphasized by the teachers. A juxtaposition of specific and general, personal and social, must occur to involve students in the more abstract demands of the course:

> Well, I think the two together (specific and general), for instance, why a boy would throw a rock in Newark and then right after that the statistics of what other rioters were like. I think that is sort of the idea of what I was interested in.

In the pilot version of the course, teachers found the early materials dealing with group image and identity to be particularly successful -- these concepts seemed to be accessible and meaningful to youngsters, especially when exercises were used that invited students to see their own group identities, the images they held of others and that others held of them as teenagers. This was the point of contact that teachers and students were looking for:

> ...these white children saw themselves in terms of group image and group identity and then they saw blacks. So you see they had again a strong frame of reference and a point to which they could go; and a point at which they could answer questions for themselves, really.

The movie served as a successful triggering device for tying these personal image and identity considerations to the issue of black image and identity. The youngsters were, according to the teacher above, "really turned on by that" and could see in the life of Duff, the black protagonist in the film, the very issues of life style, life purpose and goals, that they themselves were concerned about.

> ...they liked the movie...they're asking some basic questions that they hadn't really thought of....

The importance of the personal narratives in this course is clearly paramount, be they the written stories in "That's All that I Remember" or the film of "Nothing But a Man." These narratives give youngsters examples of specific situations in people's lives that help students to explain personal action, which is the fundamental unit in all group action. The personal experiences help to make group actions understandable, for the person represents the group. One teacher expressed it this way:

> I think first hand accounts are much more appropriate because people are speaking the way they would speak to somebody else. And, therefore, the kids can understand it.

This will be no surprise to any teacher, but we have repeatedly corroborated in other evaluations that reading materials stylistically focused around a good amount of spoken English (conversation, autobiographical accounts, reporting style, etc.) are the most motivating and most remembered.

The motivating value of the narratives, of stories of lives, can be viewed in terms of course pacing. One teacher suggested that such stories be used at various intervals throughout the course:

> You know, even the Bill Russell story, "Up for Glory." ...they've all read that book, so they know and they can discuss it rather intelligently...You have to space these things so you can arouse interest at various parts of the course, if you're going to keep it at the present length.

Visual triggers other than film are often successful in involving students. One teacher brought in ads from new and older magazines to illustrate change in the black image over time (this idea had come out of a teacher seminar) and mentioned the value of such immediate visual exercises:

> (It's) the sort of thing students could get
> an instantaneous impression of....

This is a motivating cue that can help students to build toward the conceptual abstractions of the course; ideas of image, identity and power need these visual illuminations. Also, range and specificity of example are powerful pedagogy.

Problem Issues:

In contrast to the accessibility of the concepts of image and identity, youngsters seemed to have special difficulties with the concept of power. The idea of negotiated power seemed to be particularly difficult. One teacher noted:

> They can't figure out how to solve a problem such as Martin Luther King had. How do you get the whites to give in to your demands, however moderate they may be. They usually resort to an exchange (in terms of) their own behavior. Rather than tell the teacher they don't like the class -- they would just as soon cut it and get punished. So they couldn't understand why King didn't resort to violence. They do not understand the concepts of power involved in that unit. ...this whole idea of a town where the blacks had 70% of the bus usage and still they couldn't change the situation. They just didn't understand....

Further, youngsters, especially from working class backgrounds, didn't necessarily see the same behavior as commendable or even necessary as do people with more power and control over their lives; for example, youngsters in the city and fringe city schools did not see why sitting in the back of the bus was so bad to begin with. They did not extrapolate from one specific situation to a life position; or, if they did, they often saw themselves in much the same position vis a vis the powers that be, so why sympathize with the blacks.

> They realized it wasn't perhaps as comfortable to sit in the back, but they would not have done the same things as King did.

One teacher believed that one of the problems in understanding the power issue stemmed from a fear of the meaning of the word power -- a meaning associated with violence:

> When you hear it on the TV or radio (black power) or read it in the newspaper, it looks like a very very ugly term to them. It means hatred and violence and perhaps shootings. They don't become very inductive when they look at material like this.

She believed that at another extreme their understanding of the word power was in terms of its meaning as the "power structure"; and this was also something to be feared: "something beyond their comprehension -- that is a power structure." Her suggestion has been incorporated into the current version of the course:

> If you'd worked with the Black Panthers or any of the nationalist type groups, I think if you defined them, what they were and how they originated and at what times, after you had done the image and identity, I think then they could understand the power structure, and then they might be able to understand why riots or demonstrations occurred in certain cities, what the needs of the people were without perhaps continually having to relate to a particular section of the nation or city.

Teachers also criticized a lack of emphasis on youth in the course:

> ...most of it is geared to the adult level, adult rioting, adults getting jobs, adults involved in civil rights...there is a definite lack of bringing it down to the level of youth.

This may be an area where teachers will want to bring in more youth-oriented material from newspapers or in the form of their own students' experiences. Teachers specifically mentioned as motivating the stories of young people in the booklet, "That's All that I Remember."

The course is intended to give youngsters a frame of reference and some information for considering situations in their own lives that relate to the black-white crisis. One problem of many teachers in non-integrated classes was in making ties to daily life that would bring home the relevance of the issues.

> These areas are so disassociated from our frame of reference, we don't really know what they're like. We can guess. They're in the South... even New Jersey, that's in the South (in kids' thinking), and they couldn't relate to that at all. ...I tried to rely upon Boston's problems but here, too, there wasn't enough material other than newspapers.

Because the extended case studies are of Montgomery and Newark, high schoolers in the Massachusetts field trial usually did not feel any sense of immediacy since the time was past and the place seemed as distant as (perhaps more than) the moon. Youngsters grasp the issues with much more immediacy if there are comparable local experiences to tie into the course. For example, students became much more involved in the Montgomery materials during a class discussion above the Boston subway system: how would they feel if their own transportation system were comparable to the one in Montgomery? Had they ever run into any similar situations on the subway? Teachers will want to be alert to ways of tying the materials to community and school situations that will make the issues of the course seem more immediate, less historical.

Another teacher problem that must be acknowledged is the familiar problem of new materials, dealing in depth with an issue about which most people do not have "expert" knowledge. These teachers, giving the material its first trial, were hampered by receiving materials as the course progressed, and therefore had little time to read extensively not only the course selections but some of the suggested bibliography. Yet a sense of confidence and knowledge does much to free the teacher to attend to the social and emotional responses of students, and to help guide discussions and activities to productive ends. Thus one strong suggestion for teachers who wish to work with this course under optimal conditions is for sufficient preparation along content lines -- a steeping, as much as time permits, in the background of the course and the many content issues it can raise. Otherwise, many may have kindred experiences with the teacher who felt that the hardest thing for her about the course was the conceptual and informational mastery required of her:

> First of all, I didn't have a background in a lot of the material. ...I wasn't grounded in specifics...I couldn't have pulled in from the outside things that would have been useful and relevant...I think all the time I felt there wasn't really anything you could sort of hold on to and gear them in -- factual foundation on something before we went into studying attitudes.

Problems of Pedagogy :

Life in classrooms is never simple and the excitement of achievements is always balanced by difficult challenges, often, in the classroom stressing inquiry and exploration of issues, focusing around cognitive structuring and learning gains. The teacher who was quoted earlier as stating, "I always hope the kids ask the questions in class," was also well aware of the problem in "talking out" an issue:

> It's not getting them to talk about it. It's directing the conversation to the point you want to make. Often they go on tangents that have no relevance at all to what you're trying to point out.

In use of this course, it can be difficult to keep some kind of consistent thread running throughout, to develop a thematic continuity:

> What did we do today, and what did we do yesterday. Because it's really easy to go from one day to another and not connect it.

There is a need for summarizing and highlighting the major issues that are being pursued through the variety of stories and information presented -- "...the idea of a whole course rather than separate booklets and separate ideas." The teacher can serve to raise questions probing comparisons and contrasts, thus helping students to relate sections of the course to one another.

Teachers, particularly of youngsters from working class backgrounds, found they needed to give special support and encouragement for expressing ideas and using materials in an integrative way. One teacher of boys in a technical high school had a recognition of his own school experiences in the reticence of younsters to contribute to class discussion:

> Some of them just said that they're not used to doing this in the class. They'll give you the answers to the text or something they've studied...like Joe. He told me that he wanted to talk in class but he didn't know what to say, and the day he told me that he made a determined effort to raise his hand to contribute. But he said that it wasn't that he wasn't interested... he just doesn't talk in class. I can understand that...it's pretty much the way I was in school. You listen to everybody else, and you are attentive, but you don't feel like raising your hand or you don't know what to say.

Another teacher of working class youngsters felt that she had to keep a special psychological distance from her class when group work was in progress:

> If I didn't sit in on their group, if I listened from a distance which I usually did, I knew that they were producing in a group, that they were thinking and solving their problems. They have a problem, perhaps, with success. That they are motivated to achieve, but they are afraid of failure. ...they did not ever want to have a wrong answer. This is why they were opposed to panels where they had to come up in front of the class to present some information.

There can be a lack of intellectual "nerve" in many youngsters who have not been challenged in earlier school work to contribute from their own resources, and who have been accustomed to "right answers" in history and social studies. If teachers sense this reticence and lack of confidence, they can help students to develop expressiveness and willingness to subject ideas to public view, by gradual exposure to group work and open encouragement of student ideas and questions during class discussions.

Teacher Aids: Course Guide and Seminar Experience:

In teaching this course, the teachers found the lesson guide to be just that -- a series of useful suggestions which they modified according to their students' interests and needs and their own classroom styles:

> The guide is sort of to head you in the right direction, and the teacher should anticipate what the specific class is like and alter it to his own needs. But basically it gave you an idea of things to be emphasized.

Because teachers' styles differed greatly, they were not all comfortable doing the same things. They selected and emphasized techniques that worked for them. One teacher commented:

> I find that I start developing a course around a psychology.

Another stressed pragmatic discussions, oriented around a "bull-session" approach.

Teachers had various reactions to seminar meetings with the EDC developers[1] to discuss the teaching of the course as the field trial was in progress. Some felt they had been helped tremendously with specific ideas for teaching, developed from the collegial sharing of concerns and issues:

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[1] The seminars were designed in part as a prototype for future seminars when developers would not be present. To create a situation as close to real life as possible, the developers could not tell teachers just how they would use the materials.

> It was valuable in learning how other teachers were approaching some of the material or getting some ideas...somebody had mentioned using a magazine in one of the seminars, and I thought, now that sounds like a wonderful idea. Gives us an extension of what we could do. So I went down to the library and got these back issues out and marked different pages...I stress that part because one of the other courses I teach, I'm the only teacher teaching it. I'm the only one who has taught it for five years, and I have these dialogues with myself.

Another felt she would have benefited from more focus on the use of materials:

> I think they would have been better if they would have done more suggesting how to present the materials. They were trying to be philosophical and everything instead of being practical. ...I think they were interesting. ...you just felt like you had to do the work and you had to be serious about it, you know, instead of sort of playing around.
>
> I raised the issues (of difficulty with some of the activities)...but they sort of got off the practical end and on to the theoretical.
>
> ...I think we discussed a lot of good things but I don't think it helped us that much in performing the task of giving the course.

Special visitors sometimes provided new insights; within this group, most teaching all-white classes, a visit from a black guidance counselor was particularly appreciated.

> I think everybody agreed that it was the best meeting we had, 'cause she told us things. She was telling it like it is, the experiences she had as a black person...I'd like to see what other people have to say about the idea.

The current seminar suggestions have been developed to provide a balance of teaching — specific considerations and larger issues concerned with exploration of controversial topics in the school setting.

Evaluating Student Growth:*

The pilot test teachers found that this course relied more heavily on verbal interchange during class than did other social studies and consequently, that traditional "right answer" tests of learning were both inadequate and inappropriate.

> There's more discussion. And the point is the teacher is not trying to say, "Look, your opinions are totally wrong." ...I found it much more difficult to test them on material.

Open-end evaluative exercises can serve a useful purpose as feedback and diagnostic aids to both the student and teacher. Students can be helped to reflect about what they have been studying, and to develop their learning from various sections of the course around some organizing questions. Opportunity to express subjective opinion, and to support this by objective evidence can be developed by turning the provocative student questions raised in class into essay exercises. For example, students can be asked to support their opinions about Duff in the film, "Nothing But a Man," by reference to specifics in the narrative. This position can then be related to later cases, such as the Montgomery study. What do the two different pieces of material have to say about human needs? How is each concerned with strategies for achieving more power? Which efforts seem most likely to succeed and why? Do the goals seem legitimate?

Teachers may want to use such exercises also to reflect about their own teaching: are the course concepts beginning to take on meaning for students;

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*Teachers may wish to consider the evaluation tests and checklists developed for pilot testing, for more ideas about determining student responses to the course.

can they use specific illustrations and ideas to support an opinion; what ideas and information have been retained, and is the information accurate enough to base arguments upon. One teacher found written exercises to be effective in providing feedback, despite his conviction that such a course should not be "graded" in a traditional sense. He used such exercises as a diagnostic of student learning, to help him gauge general understanding and areas where more clarification was needed:

> Get some concrete thoughts after role playing in maybe "Raisin in the Sun"...Have a sheet with a few questions on it. What was Mama's reaction to the visit from the local community? What were the reactions of the other people? Why do you think this happened? Do you think this is a true story to begin with? Some people didn't believe it was a true story. You get written feedback and you know what points they caught and what points they missed. Whereas with an oral feedback (in class) you don't always get this. It doesn't have to be anything fancy. It doesn't have to be for a mark. In this kind of a course you can't get a mark. Kind of a written feedback so you know that they're with it.

We include several interview extracts in this report not only to show student use of the course, but to illustrate the range of questions asked in the interview, as possible aids to the teacher in formulating stimulating and relevant essay questions for assessing student thinking. What the interviews reveal is the range of responses -- most legitimate -- to any one issue in this course. If such questions are used in written form, the teacher might want to consider the following points as indicators of student growth:

- the organization of ideas into a point of view
- the use of course materials to support this view
- the reasonableness and insight of the conclusion

Other ways of determining student growth include several aspects of participation in class sessions:

- willingness to participate in class discussion
- acceptance of opposing views as legitimate and worth hearing
- growth in use of evidence to support a point of view
- willingness to explain when others do not understand views

Projects and research papers can also serve as indicators of student learning, as can the results of student group work.

III. Student Perspectives

In the Classroom:

With teacher's experiences in mind, we will explore students' reactions to Black in White America as revealed in interviews. Student perceptions of classroom climate in an integrated urban technical school for boys provide an important starting point, particularly for teachers who will be using this course with city youth. Several white students in the ninth grade expressed considerable anxiety, tension and dismay over their discussions in class about the racial issue. During interviews, they brought up anecdotal and personal experiences concerning whites' problems with blacks, and ended the course with outspoken feelings against the growing power of blacks within America society. Their solution -- separatism or back to Africa -- was clearly the easy way out for these youngsters, and not at all a desirable end-result of the course.

> I found there were other people who fought. The Irish people, they really started a lot of riots, before the black people. Now the black people are making riots. But before the black, the white people, they was doing the same thing the black people are doing.
>
> (Where did you learn about that?)
>
> I read it. So it doesn't really mean anything because we were making riots because we thought we were being pushed around too, so black people do the same thing.
>
> (Is that something that always has to happen or is there a way of preventing it?)
>
> There's a way of stopping it, like if they made a thing for the black people so they could live in a town all by themselves like down in the South. They like living down there. You know, they have a place they own.
>
> I think the blacks should have a right to do things by themselves and everything, you know, to have everything, their own businesses, to segregate

> themselves away from the white people. They
> want to rule. The civil war (was in the) 1800's.
> I didn't do it, so they have to take it out on us?

What elicited these reactions? We learned that several physically small white boys were frightened by some of the expressive, open statements of the black students who were as a group physically larger, and who felt free to tell their own stories in the classroom. A white student said:

> I don't like it...'cause too many kids yell in the
> room and everything. I don't like to talk about
> other people that much because you lose friends.
> ...I shouldn't talk about it anyway...'cause it's
> gonna start a civil war or something...

This student had the idea -- perhaps not dispelled by the teacher -- that heated discussions were personal assaults directly on people in the room. The teacher had not thought about class behaviors in terms of group dynamics, and was tentative and not very self-confident about some of the more open discussions he permitted. He did not see where to support and encourage students who because of size might feel threatened by the apparent aggressiveness of students of the other race. The student body in this school had reached a working compromise between blacks and whites which students were fearful of disrupting, thus tipping the balance toward open hostility. Students small in stature particularly felt a looming physical threat.

What is especially interesting and important is that black students did not feel this same tension in the classroom during discussions. They generally had very different feelings.

> Discussing and talking... it's very interesting...
> (you)have a chance to express your feelings.

They expressed considerable eagerness to continue open discussions, and felt that the teacher had been fair and considerate of a range of opinions.

> (Do you think in the classroom that Mr. ... felt easy about teaching? Do you think it would be a better class if the teacher were black?)
>
> I think...yes, it would be a better class if the teacher was a black teacher but you know, when it's a white teacher it's even more... it's more interesting...cause where you have that many white teachers talking about black history, trying to teach the white people about black history, you figure it at least might have some white people listening.

In general, black students felt no dismay over heated discussions, as had their white classmates.

> (Tell me what you think about the course, about how much you liked it or what you'd rather be doing or if you think the course is a waste of time or what.)
>
> No, it's not a waste of time. It's...trying to get through to those white kids that blacks are just like they are. So they could be equal and not have all this fighting. The black people don't really have to worry about the white people now cause they just bust their heads, that's all. They mess with them. Still, they wouldn't want to go that way.
>
> (Do you think this class is good for white kids too?)
>
> Yeah, if they're willing to learn or listen. But a lot of them, they just sit there, they shoot their mouth off, they goof off, well, I mean, I goof off sometimes, just for a while, but I mean it is really serious, cause a lot of times you'd be talking about white history and they're really interested and then when you're talking about black history all of a sudden they're not interested, they're fooling around, and talking and everything like that.

The "fear of a riot" from class discussion existed mainly in the minds of some of the white students, and was symptomatic of a larger anxiety about their relationships with black students. Here was a situation where the teacher's knowledge of the feelings of white and black students might have enabled him to explore with his class some of these differences, making the blacks more sensitive to the white boys' distress, and lessening white anxiety by making clear the involvement and good will toward the course that the blacks felt.

As a general issue, it should be pointed out that inevitably in any shifting of power and role, there is a feeling of loss and dismay, even anger and repudiation of change, among the people who must relinquish some of their power. Among working class white youth who attend school with working class black children, there is often resentment of the new black pride in self and race:

> ...you see one Negro standing up and he says, "I don't have no white friends." I don't know why. ...I think the blacks are prejudiced against the whites. They don't like us... Give them an inch and they take a mile...
>
> (Are things different?) Yes, (blacks) like themselves now... I think they should have stayed the same as before.

Such open, unabashed comments express a strong dynamic toward re-establishing personal relationships where "white" represents good and powerful and a clear ascendency over "black". Within their own milieus, many working class children, unself-conscious about their motivations, have depended upon color differences to deepen their in-group ties and to feel personal efficacy. These are emotional responses that teachers must acknowledge in working toward a classroom that lessens, not heightens, distorted perceptions.

In the suburban classroom, reactions to use of this course varied considerably from the urban situation. While daily classroom dynamics related to racial composition of the class were not issues for white children, since no black youngsters were present to give their points of view, there was nevertheless a range of reaction to the content and focus of the course. From the separated white situation, many youngsters spoke of the need for input from blacks directly into the class:

> (Would you like to have had the course changed in some way?)
>
> Maybe we could have a black speaker come in and talk to us about, like, what it's like living in Boston.

One outcome of the course was to provoke some students to examine their own environment and notice its segregated nature:

> (Do you think there are other things you should be spending your school time on?)
>
> No, I think this is better. It just makes you look around the class and -- there's not one Negro in our class.

However, two interviewed youngsters in the same class as the student just quoted, expressed different opinions. One boy disliked intensely the thrust of the course, rejecting what he called its "pushing of the idea" of discrimination and prejudice against black people.

> I didn't like the course because I felt that you were trying to force something upon us, and I don't want to have anything forced upon me. If it does, you know, you push it back.

This boy appeared self-directed, concerned with independence, and he was caught up with factors of self-determination and people being accepted on individual merits:

> Negroes in the school or in this area that I know about are not neglected. They're really not pushed down. They're treated just as well as many whites...I play sports, I'm on the track team, I meet a lot of Negro runners, distance, short distance, they're all great kids. I look at them as a person, not because their color is different. And once you start pushing upon me the idea that they have been pushed out and everything, it's no good, I'm not going to accept it. Because a person gets ahead by what he does, right? And I'll give them a chance as much as I'll give anybody else a chance.

This youngster had expressed his point of view in class, but the teacher and classmates had found no way to use the information of the course to challenge the too-easy generalization of the "bootstrap" notion. A female classmate agreed with his discomfort, but for another reason: she did not see the classroom as the place to discuss what was clearly for her a very tender and emotional issue, embarrassing and hard to confront. She particularly stressed that, had there been black students in her class, she would not have participated at all.

> I didn't like the course myself either...I thought the movies were very good, but I don't think that the classroom is the place to discuss, to even talk about the Negro and white conflicts. Because if there had been a Negro in our class, which there wasn't, I wouldn't have participated at all.

The majority of suburban and fringe city white students expressed no such discomfort and dismay, however, and in general were receptive to the course and serious in considering its meaning to them. What organizing ideas and specific information did students gain through study of Black in White America? What part did particular source materials and activities play in their learning and reflecting about issues of the course? The next section presents interview data pertinent to these questions.

Materials, Methods and Student Learning:

Adolescents are deeply devoted to psychological explanations of the world; they interpret situations and behaviors they encounter from a highly experiential base, bouncing off information against their own experience. When curriculum materials are rich with instances of personal relations, particularly relations that have some parallel in most lives, a way is opened for assimilating new information and for learning. Stories, film, and other dramatic narratives translate a conceptual position -- in this case, the powerlessness and ego-destroying attributes of black existence in America -- into an accessible language, the language of each person's experiential basis for understanding.

> I think it shows why sometimes they tend to be violent during riots. Like in this story I was just reading, this guy was thinking back about how his father was humiliated in front of him and stuff like this. He just got so mad, you know. I guess it just all builds up, you know after a while. Some people say they're going too fast, you got to go slower. Two hundred years is pretty slow to me.

The time span involved in the black-white struggle became more evident, as did the fuse in this time bomb. One of the strengths of the film, "Nothing But a Man," was that it put in personal terms the important questions and concepts of the course.

> Maybe it was because of the way he saw his father dying, and he felt he was such a failure...he didn't want to be like that, he wanted to be different.

Right after this comment, the girl being interviewed assessed the course as a whole:

> I don't think it's that much understanding blacks. I think it goes in deeper -- understanding all the people around you, understanding every race and every religion and every set of people...

One reason narrative, dramatic materials are successful is that they define the problem in their story.

> The movie was good. I liked the movie...it was a story and it showed a problem. It didn't just show facts, like those quotations - I didn't like that. It showed a specific problem and what the solutions were.
>
> ...it put it right in front of me so I could watch this guy and all his problems.

All of the narratives in this course, including the booklet of stories, have been chosen to illustrate certain dimensions of image, identity and power. In the extracts that follow, student attitudes toward Duff and other persons whose stories are told, are presented to illustrate how these people become personifications of ideas, and thus can be used to lead to understanding the conceptual structure of the course. For example, one of the most persistent stereotypes that white youngsters hold of black people, a stereotype reiterated by students whenever EDC materials on race have been used in classrooms, is that of the "lazy" black who will not work for a living. "Nothing But a Man" helped to shatter this stereotype by telling the story of Duff who was struggling to achieve the self-respect and dignity due to a man. For an independent-minded suburban boy who refused to admit to the possibility of general racial prejudice, particularly as it applied to him and his own life, this film proved to be a powerful visual representation of black struggle for self-worth that permitted him to find a point of direct comparison with his own life, his own concerns for independence and manhood. Thus, he developed an understanding of at least one black man's struggle to achieve identity:

> The movie...really showed a lot. ...How a man, a Negro, was pushed out of society when he was trying to, you know, stand like a man -- tall.
>
> (Was there any one person who stood out in your mind in this course?)
>
> In "Nothing But a Man," that character there really stood out in my mind. Maybe he was black or anything else, but he was a man and everybody tried to pull him down.

There is also a morality in the movie -- a "true to oneself" attribute -- that has special appeal to teenagers. A black student saw Duff this way:

> He really wanted to be a man, and he was doing the right thing even if he kept getting fired.

Other students also stressed the power of the film to develop an understanding of the problems presented in the course, and spoke of positive attitudes toward all of the visuals:

> (What was the movie all about?)
>
> Just the fact that Duff wanted to be a man, he didn't really care what kind of a job he had or where he lived or anything, as long as he was treated like a man. That was the most important thing to him.
>
> (How did you learn the most?)
>
> The movie, "Nothing But a Man"...it was something different for a change, you know. And it helped you to better understand.
>
> You could just see it.
>
> The books were good, but...you get tired of reading so many books. ...Go to another and another and another. There was one that was good with all the pictures. The pictures gave you a better understanding sometimes. You see the pictures, rather than just read words. You appreciate it more.

Few youngsters are avid readers when compared with their motivation to consume visual input. The film translates conceptual issues of image, identity, power into real questions of what is manhood, what do people struggle to make of their lives. The challenge for teachers is to tie these motivating questions to the reading materials that are less oriented around the personal and more focused upon general information or research findings.

The role-playing of a dramatic incident from the play, "Raisin in the Sun," also evoked considerable enthusiasm and involvement from students. A black student said:

> I liked that real good...you put yourself in their place. And the people in the class sitting there listening, and you yourself, would really understand what's going on...play it out instead of just reading it.

The early materials of the course (the autobiographies, the play, the movie) were particularly successful in developing understanding of the concepts "image" and "identity". The later materials were less successful in eliciting student interest and new learning, particularly of the "power" concept. The interview extracts that follow may help to shed light on the diversity of student responses to all of these materials, and on the ways in which the input of the course is used by students to develop a point of view. The first four scripts are extracts of suburban interviews; the last three are urban interviews.

Script One
Suburban Student:

I:* Do you remember the play...the one called "Raisin in the Sun"? Do you remember how the son felt?

S: Yes, I think he felt that his mother went out and spent his money when (he wanted to) be uh...something...different. ...you know, he wanted it for himself and for his son and his wife. He didn't want to have to go out and buy a house. And it showed that he...you know...he wanted to make something out of himself with it. He wanted to buy a store and become, you know, he wanted it...to help the family, his family...being somebody, and he wanted to be something in the white society, in a way.

I: So why wouldn't he have wanted the house?

S: What is the house? The house is just... all the house is to him is a place to live. It isn't, you know, pushing him on into you know, being famous or something like that, or to be wealthy. It's just owning a house.

I: Who was the head of the family?

S: Well, the mother was more. I think...I thought that the mother was...the way she kind of took over in a way when she came in. ...Like she came in and she didn't say anything...and her son started to, you know, start yelling and she just kind of ignored him.

I: How do you think the son felt about that?

S: I think he was...he should have been the man of the house...a man should get more respect. And you know, it just took away all his respect.

I: How about the movie? Do you remember the movie?

S: Yes. The way he (Duff) did during the movie he was always looking for jobs, he never had a job, and one job he did have

Comments:

Both the movie and the play helped students to comprehend feelings of helplessness and rage that blacks, particularly black men struggling for a meaningful identity and role in life, have had to experience. High school age youngsters are particularly concerned with issues of role in life, growing up and becoming a person of value to the world. Students were acutely understanding of the psychological dimensions of these dramas, and translated these dimensions into some general organizing ideas related to the concepts of the course. The young boy quoted in this interview focuses his view of the movie and the play around the issue of self-respect in a man. He understands the struggle of both Walter in the play and Duff in the movie. He can tie his ideas to specific actions and behaviors of a few real-life characters, and this gives

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* I = Interviewer
S = Student

Script One
Suburban Student:

he got fired from because you know, because he felt that unity was the best thing for the blacks, that they should unify, fight the whites, and that's how he lost his job.

I: Which job was that?

S: The one in the mill. He got fired from the mill.

I: Yes. Do you think he was wrong?

S: No, I thought he was right all the way, that's the way I would be. Some people wouldn't have enough guts to do it, but I'd do it if I came into the same situation, I'd probably do it.

I: Did you think the movie was realistic?

S: Yes, 'cause a lot of colored people, you know, don't get a job and things like that and they just lose their self respect like he was. And I saw the part where he took the money out of her wallet and how he was looking around and it looked like he didn't have any self respect. He was losing it all because he had to take money from his wife and he didn't have anything to give to her.

I: Why didn't he have any self respect?

S: Well, he was more or less losing it because he wasn't giving to the family. He wasn't giving like he should and it was because he didn't have a job or anything and he didn't have any money and he just couldn't...when you respect somebody you respect them you know if they do a lot for somebody or they do something. And he...you can't respect yourself if you're not doing anything. You lose all your self respect then. And that, taking the money from her, that could really you know, could really...

I: ...shatter?

Comments:

him access to the generality that "a lot of colored people, you know, don't get a job and things like that and they just lose their self-respect." No amount of statistical or abstract documentation could so well convey a major theme. This highlights the complex nature of the responsibility of curriculum developers. There is a responsibility to convey ideas in the most accessible and impressive mode; but by this selective and stimulus-bound presentation, they are also supporting generalization from single cases. Therefore, the single cases must be extremely representative of a body of supporting evidence as well as individual experiences. Since students are much more likely to remember the story than the statistics, a great weight of evidence falls upon the narrative materials. Because "Nothing But a Man" is clearly southern, these powerful

Script One
Suburban Student:

S: ...yes, shatter somebody, 'cause they know what's going on, they know they all got jobs. And that's how I thought he felt, you know.

I: And yet, why didn't he go out and get a job?

S: Well, he couldn't, he tried, he kept trying but he couldn't do it and that was a real bummer, too, you know?

I: Do you think that's a common situation?

S: Probably in the south it is, if you're that way, the way he was. For people like he was, you know...deep south...unified fight ...and a lot of people who have jobs down there feel you know...but he didn't feel that way, he wanted respect and he wanted you know, to be a black man, that's all. He just wanted to be what most people should be, the way most blacks should be. I like the booklets, I think they were great.

I: All of them?

S: Yes, all of them, so far.

I: What did you like about them?

S: I don't know, they seem to put it the way it is, you know? Like I like this booklet here, Montgomery, the way it has all...I like everything...When I go home I read this. I read it about three times, I keep reading it. Like in here some of the things ...it's like a bulletin or something, they tell what happens: "Seven white men arrested in connection with bombings but are found not guilty by county court even though they had signed a confession." And you know the way it is down in the south...people do things down there, you know...and the way they have the segregation laws. I don't know why they should have those. That's foolish, I mean up here in the north they don't have anything like that. Anybody can sit in the bus

Comments:

images trigger a common student reaction in the Massachusetts testing of the course: the problems presented viewed as mainly southern problems; and the extremity of behavior is not associated with the situation in the north. This boy, for example, while expressing great interest in the reading materials, uses the Montgomery case which clearly fascinates him, to reinforce the easy north-south dichotomy and from his suburban position, view the racial problem as a southern issue. Some inroads into this stereotype are made, as another student's comment reveals:

> At first I thought, it's all down south, right, it has nothing to do with up here. But then we got to talking more about it, and I think that people in the north are just as prejudiced as people in the south, but they hide it better than the people in the south do.

The caution needs to be made, however, that students' easy relegation of problems to another

Script One
Suburban Student:

wherever they want to, that's the way it is here. That's the way I like it.

Comments:

geographic area is something teachers must guard against, and they should have an ear for such false generalizations.

It should be noted that this "down south" focus of students may be explained in part by the way teachers paced the course: of the two months given over to this study, six to seven weeks were devoted to the early sections while only one to three weeks were spent on the later materials focused around a northern locale.

Script Two
Suburban Student:

I: Did you get a feeling, you know, while studying this course for what black people feel about themselves?

S: Yes. Well, in the Montgomery boycott, before, you know, they had the boycott they were unsure of themselves and they didn't think they could ever get anything accomplished; but after, you know, the buses came, not the separation anymore, they could sit wherever they wanted. I think that they sort of had a pride that, you know, they actually accomplished something on their own. More confidence in themselves. The blacks tried to show the white people they are not going to be looked upon as dirt, you know, that they try and bring themselves up to higher standards. Have more respect for themselves. Try to associate with more white people.

I: What do you think power is to people?

S: Power to start your own destiny. Power to start on all the issues that maybe they want to be and what they feel like being, not to be something because someone else wants them to be something. Power to have their own lives which the majority of blacks and whites in America don't have.

I: Do you think there are any special advantages or disadvantages to an integrated school?

S: Yeah. When a child is growing up, it's an important part of his life -- it brings together a lot of his moral ideas and conceptions of what the world is about. And it seems that when, you know, he is in grammar school, if he goes to an all white school, he accepts the fact that the whole world is white and anything different to a human being he discourages and he doesn't understand because it's different. And if he goes to junior high and all these opinions are already formed and he suddenly needs the concept of black people in the world, he already sees them as being something different and being different. And he doesn't know what to do and he hates it, because it's different.

Comments:

The next brief extracts present two attitudes toward the course and to uses of its ideas. The first shows a student's understanding of group identity and group image as illustrated in the Montgomery bus boycott; an interpretation of power that centers on control over one's destiny; and a view of the values of integrated schooling for the white child. All of these interpretations reveal insight and use of the ideas of the course to develop personal understanding; it should be noted, however, that the norms implicit in this youngster's thinking are white society's norms, and the attitudes of some black groups toward necessary separation are not acknowledged.

Script Three
Suburban Student:

S: The course was much too long. That's one thing. And then it wouldn't have all those in-between readings. They may be important but it's awfully too long, and the kids start getting bored. You just get bored after a while. Especially if you don't like Negroes. If you don't like Negroes you just want to get it over with.

I: How do you feel?

S: About Negroes?

I: Yeah.

S: I don't like them.

I: Any specific reason?

S: Oh, I had some personal problems with them, you know, and just don't like them. I didn't mind them, like I'm reading *Mockingbird*, I didn't mind them in those days, you know; but now they're trying to hit against us. And they're saying all you done, this is because of slavery and all that. The ones that are living now, they're not in slavery. What do they care about it? Well, we were supposed to learn more like how the Negroes felt about the whites, and what kind of position they were in and how they were trying, you know, to revenge or come equal with us... you know, just to be as equal with us. Job opportunities and that kind of stuff.

I: What was the most interesting new thing you learned?

S: Well, I never knew anything about Montgomery boycotts, I never knew about them. ...they didn't want to go through the back door. It was like a starting for the new future for Negroes. ...the whites couldn't stand to see the Negroes try to go against them. 'Cause they were always superior to the Negroes...it's like seeing your pet starting to bite...I didn't know about Newark. It didn't interest me but they're kind of important to know, so it's good...It's what's

Comments:

The second extract is taken from an interview with a student who feels resentment about attribution of guilt to whites; it reveals a retreat from the course and its historical perspective. We see evidence of white youth's dismay at rising black militancy and aggressiveness, and a longing for return to the simpler days of white supremacy.

Inevitably, in a course open to interpretation there will be youngsters who grow in understanding of the concepts of the course but whose basic sympathies are against the black revolution. These emotional stances tend to color the interpretation of events toward more negative conclusions, just as youngsters who feel sympathy for black people's attempts to improve their situation in this country, interpret happenings in a more positive light. This suburban boy understood well the

Script Three
Suburban Student:

happening these days. It's one of the number one problems in America, I think. I'm not sure. Newark...I just like it because it was kind of exciting.

I: How would you describe the image people have of blacks?

S: Well, now it's changing. Now they're starting to kind of like the Negroes but like last year they started to like them quite a lot. The Negroes, you know, the hippies and all that. But this year kind of like a bit less 'cause, you know, the Negroes are starting to kind of wise off; and like in the college thing, you know, like they'd rather accept Negroes now. (Whites) can't stand that.

Comments:

importance of the Montgomery boycott. Nevertheless, he sees threatening implications to new black power and visibility in society.

Script Four
Suburban Student:

I: What was the point of the jobs unit?

S: To show that blacks were discriminated against just because they're colored and it's hard for them to get jobs this way.

S: And a lot of companies that have a lot to do with clients even discriminate against some white people too. Any corporation that does a lot of dealing with the public and important clients would much rather have an Ivy League blond haired, blue-eyed, six foot guy rather than a black, five foot ten, three-hundred pounds.

I: What do you think are some of the things that blacks have done to get more work and better jobs?

S: Well, first of all they rioted and that was the basic reason why they're up to where they are now. It was unity and hard work that made them, the whites respect them now.

S: Well, now in some jobs blacks are in demand. Like they need a lot more black doctors because black people might feel more comfortable with a black doctor and they're needing a lot more of these. And lawyers too. Some of these high professional jobs. And also in some cases even when the black man is more qualified than the white man, they take the white man just because of the color and how it looks -- for someone sitting in the front desk of an office they would rather have a white man than a black person.

I: How do you think the school fits into the whole picture of race relations?

S: I think it's very important because if a certain type of school administrator in a high post on a school committee, for instance, in Boston I know that this is true, can only produce a certain amount of money for the books and materials, it's up to them, you know, where to distribute the materials.

S: In school we acted out this play about the black people wanting a black principal and

Comments:

From Newark on, the course in this pilot testing did not receive in the classroom the time or energy put into the early materials. The testing was running beyond its expected eight-week period, and teachers were more hasty in their coverage of three units, Newark, jobs, and schools. This superficial coverage is indicated in the responses of youngsters to these later pieces; they have much fuzzier, more confused responses to questions, and in general do not remember any cogent, specific pieces of information. Their remarks are much more stereotypical, less illustrative, as in the following conversation about the units on jobs and schooling. There is a lot of easy and incorrect over-generalization here that does not come directly from the materials in the unit, but is rather a hodge-podge of class discussion and personal opinion. The youngsters didn't use the materials as well as in earlier sections of the course. One reason seems to be that little class activity beyond discussion (which did not appear to draw upon the materials occurred. The one role play

Script Four
Suburban Student:

black teachers and some of the white teachers agreed with them; and they walked out and like we held a court trial -- we had four people being the teachers and the parents and the school committee. And we had the decision whether to hire the teachers or fire them. You know, things like this are good. They're a lot of fun and you learn something too while you're doing them.

S: Well, I think what really bothers the parents is that most of these teachers are white. And like they put a black child in the back of the class, and don't call them; just because they're black, lower their test marks.

Comments:

that was mentioned clearly was motivating and interesting. These later materials were also subject to teacher criticism as being harder to read and less personalized than the earlier sections of the course. Considerable revision has been done to vitalize them and particularly to bring the schools material more into the adolescent's frame of reference, tying his own school experiences to the general issues raised. These revisions also help to meet another teacher criticism about lack of student age-level materials. It behooves the teacher to give adequate coverage to these later sections if the course is to achieve its goals.

Student reaction to the Newark unit further illustrate the problems of general understanding that occurred in these later materials. The interpretation of the Newark riot was an extremely common one across all classrooms. When asked what caused the riot, no-one looked beyond the specific incident to a history of tension and distrust in the city.

> I: You also studied about Newark. What caused the riot?
>
> S: Oh, that one was about a cab driver. That's the one that was written in two different ways like how each one explained it. The police tried to convict him for tailgating a car. In the story they showed how the police beat him up. Really beat him up, just badly. They really didn't give any reason why. They just took it out on him. Too many people were like violent, the police didn't want to have anything to do with it. And then in the other story, the police were trying to start the riots.

Sometimes, sympathies were on the side of the police; sometimes on the side of the black people. But no real understanding of causes and following events was developed. To show difference in use of Newark and Montgomery, the following is excerpted from an interview with a ninth grade black student.

> I: You just studied the Newark riots too, didn't you?
>
> S: Yes.
>
> I: What happened in Newark that led up, you know, to the riots back in 1967?
>
> S: This thing with the cab driver or something?
>
> I: Yes. What was it?
>
> S: Can't remember. There was no black cab drivers. The white men... They wouldn't let no black men drive the cabs in Newark. I don't know why, but...

By contrast, this boy gave a much more clear interpretation of the Montgomery situation, and ended with a generalization that showed considerable grasp of group action and its results.

> S: The boycott showed that they can do something when they want to. They don't have to be slaves for no one and do what they want them to do.

I: What kind of image do you think the black people down there have of themselves after they, you know, accomplished all this?

S: Power, that they can do that to them now, they tried to do it to them.

This boy in one of the two integrated urban classes was experiencing some personal anxiety[1] during use of Newark materials that also may have influenced his attention and assimilation of information:

S: I liked with the Montgomery -- with the buses and transportation...I don't like riots myself. Just - I don't think it's good to talk about them. It might just happen around here.

Further extracts from the urban student interviews follow next, to demonstrate the conceptual grasp and expressed attitudes of these boys.

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[1] We have found that high school students in general are very fearful of violence (despite the small minority whose recent actions may point to the contrary). In fact, it was youngsters who were farthest away in physical and emotional terms from the threat of possible racial violence who expressed most interest in the Newark materials.

Script Five
Urban Student (Black)
Mid-point of course:

S: I like doing this so I can find information about what I'm doing and everything, and about the past, what happened.

I: What do you think this class is all about? What do you think they're trying to get across?

S: Telling what the black people do for the black people, and probably what the white people do for the white people. And what ways, the laws that they had in those times.

I: Did you read the story in the first book about "Raisin in the Sun"?

S: Yes.

I: Did you act it out in class?

S: Yes.

I: How did you like it?

S: It was okay. It showed how these people were saving all this money to buy something for their children.

I: Did you act out a part? What part did you play?

S: I can't quite remember but I played the girl in it.

I: Did you mind playing a girl's part?

S: Didn't bother me at all. I like acting out plays.

I: What do you think the title of the movie meant?

S: He's not a half a man or anything, he's just a man, and he's doing what he wants...discussing and talking about (the film), it's very interesting.

I: What else do you think you would like to have in class?

S: ...Have a chance to express your feelings, what you think about the whole situation.

Comments:

In the comments of this ninth grade black student, we hear several themes that have been presented in our earlier exploration of the urban teaching situation. In his first interview, this boy does not speak of a racial emphasis in the course; his answers focus around course content as information, stylistic emphasis on an understanding of human behavior, and course activities as pleasurable class sessions. He likes discussion and free expression of feeling, and exhibits no tension about use of this course in school.

Urban Student (Black)

End of Course :

S: I'd like to learn more about my people.

I: Do you think this course is harder or easier than the work you'd do in a regular history course?

S: I think it's easier, because you don't have to be hitting the books every day, but there's something you can talk out, because it's in the books, yeah, but you can talk about it in the open, and -- I like to use the books and read up on it.

I: Did you study the Newark riots, too?

S: Yes. Talking about the riots, and how they took this guy -- you know, passing -- from the car, and they beat him up and did that because, just because he passed a police car and all that, and there were white cops in it. That's what started the whole thing. They shouldn't beat up a person if he didn't do anything wrong...

I: You mean the policeman beat up a guy for passing him?

S: Yes, because -- and then they -- when they went to court, they said the guy was driving his car, and the car was parked there and, you know, just double parking, like -- they just went around and they were going to charge him with something like "jailbaiting" or something like that. They brought him to the station, and a lot of officers kicked him, beat him -- all that. One officer put his head in the face bowl of the jail cell and hit him on the back of the head with the butt of the gun.

I: Well, how did you feel when you studied this whole thing about Newark?

S: It was okay. About Martin Luther King. I'd like to learn more about him.

I: Do you think it's ever right to use violence to get what you want?

S: No. Maybe sometimes, like a lot of people do, maybe sometimes, but other times they should just do it quietly.

I: Since that summer when all those riots and violence took place down in Newark, there haven't been a lot of riots in the cities all over the country. How come you think that is?

Comments:

In the second interview, this youngster develops the idea that when discussion is tied to readings, the reading takes on new use and meaning: "it's in the books, but you can talk about it in the open." Youngsters remember dramatic incidents in great detail (here, violence and conflict of the Newark riots). There is clearly much affect or emotion stirred by such dramatic, conflict-oriented materials; yet for most student (including this youngster), interpreting and conceptualizing the meaning of the riots does not seem

S: Because they probably quieted down. They probably got what they wanted, and from then on -- now you see a lot of the stores, they have gratings on them and everything, to protect the stores from being "breaked" in case anything else starts up.

I: How do you think that the black people who participated in riots, how do you think they feel about themselves?

S: They probably feel like they have to -- they're doing, they think they're doing right, you know, what they do for the people...they're doing this for the people, plus the teenage kids nowadays. They're doing it for them, too, so they can get better jobs, educations...

I: Well, do you think it helps to go over it like this in class and study it, like a lot of them would have never known about it if you didn't study it here?

S: I think it's okay in class, because I don't go to many of those rallies or meetings, like, but sometimes they have meetings up across the school, and I just go up there, you know, to find out what's happening, just to listen and observe.

I: Is that a Panther button you're wearing?

S: Yes.

I: Do you believe in the Panthers?

S: Yes, because I've heard a lot about them, and they are militants, they are protecting us -- they're an organization of helping black people, and like, they have over in Boston down there at Dudley Street Station, A Nubian Notion, that new store down there that they opened up -- have all the stuff for black people, instead of going way out of town to buy it.

I: Well, the Panthers believe in riots and violence too, though.

S: Yes, but they must have reasons for doing it or something, like probably get back at people or something like that. Not really get them, just go on and tell them like it is.

I: So it's okay?

S: Yes, it's okay, because, you know, as long as they don't do no killing or something like that, as long as they just have a peaceful one, you know, not make big trouble, you know, just move on quietly, or go to a hall and talk about the whole thing.

directly related to the Newark case materials, but more to personal experience and understanding drawn from other sources in the course or from life experiences beyond the classroom. This youngster shows a tentative and somewhat naive belief in talk and reasonableness as ways to achieve racial justice. His perceptions of the Black Panthers reveal his persistent view of events as essentially reasonable and possible of more gentle resolutions than the violence which troubles and pains him; he wants to learn more about Martin Luther King. The course appears to have been a generally good experience for him.

Script Six
Urban Student (White)
Mid-Point of Course:

S: I don't like it. 'Cause too many kids yell in the room and everything. I don't like to talk about other people that much because you lose friends. You say something and then you get mad. I don't say nothing in class... I shouldn't talk about it anyway...'cause it's gonna start a war or something, a civil war or something.

S: ...All you learn is that Negroes don't like whites. You see one Negro standing up and he says, "I don't have no white friends." I don't know why. ...Some of my friends tell me that they didn't like them neither.

S: You see some of the black people draw a fist or something, that means a black sign, Black Panthers and everything. I don't see why they need all that stuff. Whites don't do that...I think the blacks are prejudiced against the whites, they don't like us...give them an inch and they take a mile...

S: See, there were just four of us in the room that didn't like it, me and three other kids. We didn't want to butt in or nothing because we were scared...didn't know what to say anyway. ...Black people like themselves now, but before they never talked about the whites or anything...I think they should have stayed the same as before. One of the boys, the one who always talks...he sounds as if he's going to kill them or something. He's brave enough to do it though. He stands up to them. He says, why don't you go back to Africa and everything.

S: I learned some things from the book and from the movie. ...Duff Anderson(in the movie)was alright. I didn't like him that much though because he got mad easy. ...It should be the opposite way around in the film. Instead of the whites saying stuff towards the Negroes, it should be the Negroes saying stuff towards the whites. ...Usually(blacks) butt in with the whites...They always jump in when I go some place. ...They just do that(in the film) because they are trying to teach you something. I don't think the film's true, anyway. It couldn't be true...It's trying to help you to live with blacks and be friends with them.

S: I like the part...writing out things about boycott and everything.

Comments:

There is no need for extensive commentary on this student's responses. The course disturbed him deeply, frightened him in many fundamental respects, and brought to the surface his many disturbing beliefs and feelings about black people, without any discernable modification of his views.

Clearly, this youngster is full of fears. He is one of the physically smaller boys discussed earlier in this report who magnified beyond realistic proportions, the tension and threat of violence in his integrated classroom. As noted, the teacher was not able to help such youngsters work out the irrational aspects of their fears so that the materials of the course could be utilized within a productive learning context of black and white students sharing ideas despite differences of opinion, interpretation and past experience.

This boy is one of the rare youngsters who view "Nothing But a Man" as an untrue film. He sees its story line as a reversal of what happens in life, and as propoganda promoting the goals of the course.

Urban Student (White)

End of Course:

S: (The course should be)dropped...because most kids don't like it...the whites don't like it 'cause it's boring and everything, which I feel. ...I don't like learning about your friends. It was on both sides. There were two opinions. ...(It was trying)to give us information...I liked the films better than when you have your own opinion... The reading was alright.

S: I liked(Martin Luther King)'cause he talked about we should love each other and everything...He used to try to say, we don't like the whites. That's what he was really trying to say...If you don't like them you don't like them.

S: Most(whites)don't like(black people). ...Some of them think they should go to another country and live by themselves, and some of them say, no, they should stay here and live with us. I think they should go away. So there won't be no war or something like that. Civil war. 'Cause they want to be ahead of everybody, they want to be President and stuff like that, you know. Be head of the country.

Comments:

This boy, out of his own needs, attempts to interpret all aspects of the course within one frame: whites don't like blacks, and blacks don't like whites. His reinterpretation of the message of Martin Luther King is astonishing, as is his statement about the aspirations of black people: "They want to be President and stuff like that." Clearly he views the Presidency as a totally illegitimate aspiration for blacks, reflecting what many white youngsters have told us in various interview situations: blacks are not really citizens, but of some other, undefined but inferior status. The possibility of their being "ahead of everybody" is therefore a totally untenable idea.

This youngster's solution to the racial issue is complete geographic separation of the races. His schooling certainly has not promoted any understanding of the roles, responsibilities and possibilities of citizenship, or of the political process as it is constitutionally defined. His personal feelings are perhaps even more tragic, however, for they exemplify the narrowness and fearfulness of his world.

Script Seven
Urban Student (White)
End of Course:

S: The course kind of made the whites feel they did wrong...kind of the inside story on how the Blacks felt about situations that were, you know, uncontrollable. ...It was trying to tell you how much these people went through and, I guess, how much they wanted it stopped. Yes, change, so that they could live better and we could. But there was many points left out about the whites. I'd say 90% of the course was one-sided. During the course it didn't actually give you that much information on what the whites did, it just said, they did it, and from then on it said how the blacks either rioted, or protested or did something through the rest of the story.

I: How do you think you learned from the course?

S: Through the films and the tapes, that Mr. ... showed. I was white and the people that were talking were black, but I could kind of feel what they were saying, know what they were kind of hinting around to...Each story it expressed the trouble and the pain, and the sorrow, but then it cooled down. I guess everyone in the class knew that as soon as we went to another story, the same thing was going to happen, a different situation...No, it didn't get boring, for me anyway 'cause I read it and we discussed it... I think it kept everyone in the class, their mind thinking and on their toes, ready to jump up and answer...and I was ready to say something at any question.

I: How important is what other people think of you?

S: Well, it is important, I mean if people think no good of you, I mean if the important ones think no good of you, you don't expect too much, you yourself don't expect too much out of life. I guess the Blacks got discontented and decided to start something. They wanted to live just as good as the whites did. But they don't want to work for it.

Comments:

"The Subtle factor of human-heartedness..."(Gordon Allport)

This white youngster contains within his own experience of this course all of the contradictory feelings -- out-reaching attitudes and inbred prejudices -- that were common in youngsters as we spoke with them. He exemplifies a middle ground of understanding and growth, in contrast with the previous youngster who was threatened and fearful, and rejected the course as a legitimate school undertaking. The boy here quoted helps us to understand how the classroom can serve as a source of new information and a context for exploring the racial problem, making a discernable positive impact on the expressed ideas and attitudes of the young.

Again, it is the dramatic, narrative and personal accounts that touch this boy most deeply, and let him view the black issue from some common human perspectives of "trouble, pain, sorrow". He enjoys the class discussion, and participates a great deal. It appears that open discussion encourages him to do the reading of the course, so that he will be prepared to participate.

There is understanding of the effect on one's identity of another's image of a person and

Script Seven:

I: Do you have any feelings on what power means to you?

S: Power, nowadays, is people. It has to be everybody.

I: How do you think school fits into the whole picture of race relationships?

S: Well, if they can get to the school children, I mean the Black and the White, this shouldn't go on anymore. And it gets into the childrens' heads, well, that's past, let's change. Talking about Blacks, you get to know them better, and find out that he isn't just a...he isn't a bad guy...and you don't toss him out when you're in a group, you let him come in with you. Maybe all these black and white gangs would just stop...integrate.

Comments:

he is able to tie this to the black struggle but he resorts to his clichés as the dénoument: "They wanted to live just as good as the whites did. But they don't want to work for it." While he demonstrates an overall "gestalt" of understanding, he does not use specific information from the case studies of Montgomery, Newark, jobs, schools, etc. to think about some of his stereotypes concerning black people's behavior.

Some Considerations for Classroom Teaching:

How do students interpret the climate created by teacher style and choice of activities? The following illustrates the need for teacher structuring of class activities toward defined end goals, and for permitting use of powerful and provocative questions that are possible with this material:

Laura: No one talked about how they really felt.

Diane: We didn't get too many opinions, actually, a lot of it was facts...(because of) the kinds of questions.

Laura: ...if there were little groups, more kids would talk. ...during study of the Montgomery boycott... it was the only time we ever worked in a group.

Diane: (group work) wasn't that successful, really.

Laura: She gave us a little too much time, probably, so like, you could fool around a lot.

Diane: I think class discussion would have been a lot better. I think I learn a lot more from that. We didn't learn one thing, and I don't know if it was the teacher or what, but it just wasn't supervised or anything. No one knew what they were doing, and no one got anything out of it.

Many high school teachers have not worked with grouping in their social studies classes, and, consequently, lack techniques for setting up successful group projects. From other evaluations, we have come to recognize the importance of certain technical components of group work, including 1) specification of a task, 2) selection of group leaders to carry the task forward, 3) specified time limits and 4) a manageable, achieveable goal within these time limits. The group needs to understand what it will be responsible for producing during the work period. 5) Discussion of group results is also critical for assessing points of view and summarizing the work done.

While group work was not generally popular or successful, in one classroom (fringe city) it did seem to work well:

> I like when the kids had to get into groups and discuss stuff. I really liked that, because you learn in more ways than one. You learn different people's opinions about things. You learn to work together. That's why I feel that if there were some blacks in the room it would be much better. It would, 'cuase we'd be fighting back and forth and this and that, and it would be great because we'd really get a discussion out of it.

In addition, in all but the urban classroom the opportunity to discuss issues was always extolled:

> Well, a lot of things are happening with the blacks and the whites, and you never hear anything about it. People seem to be afraid to talk about it. But they shouldn't...In most schools they don't talk.
>
> In certain classes like civics they talk about things happening in the world but they never talk about this. ...it's as if they're trying to hide something.

Under supportive guidance from the teacher, students can become contentious, even angry with one another on points of the course, but not have it turn to destructive and permanently divisive differences of opinion. When youngsters speak of such argumentation and then express some positive views of dissent, it is usually the teacher's tone in creating an open and supportive classroom that has produced the good result. The following discussion among three suburban students occurred in an interview:

> ...in the social science course...in the discussions, like yelling across the room and everything, if you had a different opinion from someone else, like you say they're wrong and you're right, you get mad at this person.
>
> But most of the anger that was in the classroom stayed in the classroom.
>
> We had a class where we could say whatever we think

> that's on our minds. Other classes have like a certain place to sit, you raise your hand, and you know, give a certain answer or something. But this is more of a discussion class. I think it's freer.

In-school dialogue about a critical American dilemma can be one of the most important achievements of a course dealing with black/white issues. There _is_ a social conscience in American youngsters, both black and white, and the American classroom can and should be a forum where this conscience can be informed, shared and matured.

Effects of the Course:

The vast majority of students participating in the pilot testing of this course were white. Since we have explored rather intensively the views of the several black students, this section will consider in more detail than did the interview extracts, the effects of the course on white students.

On balance what difference did the course make? At its best, it had the following impact:

> It makes a lot of difference. I mean, there are people that you are going to meet and if you don't know about their problems and what they've gone through and stuff, you'll still have the same opinion of them that you had before. I mean, lots of whites think that blacks are bad or inferior and everything else. That's stupid.

This illustrates the role of information in causing white students to reflect and review racial issues.

> I thought that was good about the buses. I didn't think anything like that was going on...I knew they had trouble with blacks and whites, but I didn't think on the buses, too.

> A lot of people thought they (blacks) were riotous people. You know, they didn't care, they just smashed. And these people didn't try to understand why they were doing it. I can see why (blacks) were really mad because they worked their life and they didn't know what they had....

Again, as in all such cases, youngsters look to the familiar experiences in the world around them to confirm or negate the new input from this course. One youth began to notice the social arrangements in the subway cars leading into Boston.

> Like I thought they were being treated more equal now, but in everything I've read so far, they haven't. ...when I come home on the subways... there will be some black sitting on one part of the bench...everybody is afraid to sit next to them...because they're going to jump at them or something...just because they're black doesn't mean they're going to go around jumping on you all the time.

By the end of the course, students had the following interpretations of its purposes:

> Just how the Negroes are treated and how they have been treated by white people. ....To understand the society.
>
> I think it, like developed attitudes. ...we were supposed to learn how to be less prejudiced.

Were such interpretations -- stressing information and attitude development -- implemented in any ways that these white students could articulate? Students who had positive reactions did express change in their own thinking and behavior:

> ...if I used to see a Negro in the street we used to say things and now I don't say it any more 'cause I think of how he'd feel...
>
> ...we had a report to do on our own and like I did it on the ghetto, I never knew how the ghetto was formed before. I just never knew these kind of things...Negro immigrants...had it a lot tougher (than other immigrants) and I never knew that before.
>
> It seems in a segregated school kids aren't really taught about black people....You need to go to school with them to learn how to get along, be their friends.

The first comment reveals a new self-awareness about personal behavior; the second stresses the impact of organized information in development of a perspective on racial problems; the third combines self-awareness with a thoughtful consideration of the constricting effects of all-white social settings. While these are variable responses, they are all legitimate, important and valuable outcomes of this course. None of the suburban and fringe-city classes, however, were put to the real test of the effects of the course -- actual behavior in an integrated situation.

One student stated that before he studied these materials he didn't know why blacks were rioting. He had developed a position on the basis of the course:

> ...they say the blacks riot so the people figure all the blacks are bad...well, that's because they don't have the things they wanted, like they didn't have a good education so they couldn't get a good job. And that's where it began with...

He had also developed a definition of black power that went beyond white fears of riots and violence to a view of power through positions of control in political and social settings.

> I think that the blacks meant that their black power...would mean more black teachers, more power like in office for like mayor and things like that. Not like a gun in one hand, you know, and a knife in the other....

In the suburban classroom where the teacher emphasized her own style of "developing a course around a psychology," her students spoke more than others from this frame of reference:

> I think I've learned something. It relates a lot to what's happening around, and the way you see your friends acting, you can kind of tell a lot, and you can step outside yourself and look at yourself and find out how you're acting and why....what kind of group are you in, why are you here, and what are you doing and why. And you can kind of figure it out.
>
> ...you identify with somebody, with just a few people, and that becomes your group. And you feel secure, and you don't feel lost.

In classes where teachers were more comfortable with historical perspective or information as context for considering problems, student learning reflected the teacher's particular emphasis.

There were students who felt the course had meant very little to them. Youngsters who were critical of this course said little about change in their thinking (except perhaps a growing tension and antipathy toward the changing role of black people); one anxious white ninth grader in the city school, for example, felt as follows:

> (What is the course trying to tell you?)
>
> Nothing really. We ain't doing anything, we're just talking back and forth and reading these articles and just making problems.

The majority of students expressed considerable involvement in the course, however (as checklist results, section V show), and had a diverse and personal range of learnings as documented in the interviews. Surprisingly, and perhaps hopefully, the white male students in the urban classroom who were most anxious about classroom exchange during the course, were nevertheless almost unanimous that Black in White America should continue to be taught in integrated classes in the future.

IV. Objective Measures: Summary of Findings

One basic dimension of the Black in White America evaluation was to understand how students dealt cognitively with the curriculum. We wanted to see whether, over time, students grew in their ability to use the conceptual framework of the course, and whether they changed in their perceptions of the nature and solution of racial problems.

To this end, we administered pre- and post-tests to a matched sample of 125 students in seven classes. These classes ranged from ninth to eleventh grade, from sexually homogeneous to sexually heterogeneous, from all-white to racially integrated, from urban to fringe-city to suburban.

We also wanted to assess students' reaction to the classroom experience of studying the course. A checklist, administered to the same students at the end of the course asked several major questions about curricular materials and classroom process: Did you like it? Did you learn from it? What was most difficult? What was easiest?

The most significant findings were as follows:

Pre-post Tests:

1. In general, students thought about racial matters in much the same ways before and after the course. This stability was expected because the goals of a two-month academic course are necessarily limited. It can provide informational and conceptual inputs, which may or may not change students' understandings and attitudes. Even if such changes occur, they may or may not be discernible by pre-post measures. The differences which will be reported should be viewed in the context of underlying stability.

2. Black and white urban students were remarkably alike in their

understandings of and suggestions for the solution of racial problems.

3. Students recommended peaceful, legal solutions to racial problems. To become part of the mainstream of American life, black people should develop black culture, use non-violent protest, improve the education of black children, and also rely on individual effort. Neither black nor white students suggested violent methods. Pre- and post-test data indicate that overtime students moved away from the individual-effort, "bootstrap" strategy, perhaps because the course made students aware of the complexity and severity of the problems that blacks face.

On two other questions, students were asked to solve a hypothetical problem. One question stated: "A white parent has a child who is attending an inferior school. What would you recommend that this parent do? (Choose one.)" The second question was identical, except that the parent was black. Students did not see any difference in the strategies appropriate for a white or black parent; in each case they recommended sending the child to a better school, organizing a boycott of the school, and calling a special PTA meeting. The top three choices, then, represented moderate courses of action.

There was some change over time: on the post-test students were more apt to recommend sending the child to a better school and organizing a boycott; they were less likely to choose the PTA route. As we found in the question previously discussed, the course seemed to impress upon students the seriousness of the problems and the need for solutions.

Urban blacks and whites differed somewhat in their analysis. Whites were more likely to recommend calling a PTA meeting and also calling the principal. On the pre-test, urban blacks suggested the parent organize a boycott which would shut down the school for everyone (a more extreme option than the first boycott), but on the post-test, blacks rejected such a strong measure.

4. Students' solutions to the problems described in 3. above were classified as "group-action oriented" (Organize a boycott with other parents not to send children to school until conditions change; Organize with other parents to prevent anyone from entering the school, thus closing the school down until improvements are made; Call a special PTA meeting), or "individual-action oriented" (Write a letter to his congressman; Call up the principal or superintendent; Send his child to a better school; Send threatening letters to the school board). The group-action versus individual-action distinction was developed because the course was attempting to help students see the power of organized effort to promote change.

Taking the sample as a whole, there was no significant pre to post movement on either question. There was, however, a differential response of males and females. On the pre-test, urban and suburban boys preferred individual-action solutions, while fringe-city and suburban girls favored group-action. Over time, the boys became more group-oriented, and the suburban girls became less so. The fringe-city girls became even more strongly group-oriented, so that on the post-test, they were distinct from the other groups. (See page 85 for sex differences explanation.)

5. Students favored racially integrated schooling. In response to the question, "You are a black parent. Would you want racially integrated or all-black schools for your children?", students overwhelmingly selected the two integrationist positions. Only one black student favored separate black schools. It is interesting that all urban whites favored integrated schooling, even though their own experiences with this curriculum in mixed classrooms were only moderately successful. School is where these students will spend much of their time for the next two or three years. If white students understand black educational concerns and demands as real and not just power-grabbing, the course has made a significant contribution.

6. Students gained in their ability to use the concepts of group identity and group image, but failed to grow in their understanding of the idea of power. On an eleven item subtest designed to assess students' facility with the conceptual framework of the course, all the identity and image items showed pre to post gains, while three of four power items showed pre-post declines.

An analysis of suburban responses, however, revealed that while girls decreased on three of four power items, boys increased on each of these four items.

7. There were no important differences in conceptual understanding between urban black and white males. There were such differences between the urban and suburban samples, with the suburban students scoring higher. These conclusions are based on a set of items concerning image, identity and power.

8. Sex and residential background (urban - suburban) affected students' overall test responses. Suburban boys, suburban girls and fringe-city girls (there were no fringe-city boys in the sample) comprised a relatively homogeneous group. Urban males (there were no urban females in the sample) generally represented a distinct group. They differed from fringe-city females, who were closest to them in socio-economic background. They differed also from suburban males, and these differences increased from pre- to post-test.

9. There was considerable diversity of response between different classrooms, indicating the importance of the idiosyncratic nature of particular situations. The data show that this curriculum can be successful in one urban classroom and fail in another; that it can be highly

regarded by some suburban classes but not by another. These data attest to the importance of the teacher in determining success.

Checklist:

1. Students were highly positive in their assessment of the course experience. They felt that they had learned many important things, and that this was more than they usually learn in social studies. The course seemed important, interesting and enjoyable. Moreover, it was "fair to both blacks and whites". Seventy-two percent of the students recommended that the course be taught to all students.

Girls were even more favorably inclined than boys, being more apt to see the whole course and specific sections of it as important and interesting. Possibly, this reflects the "teacher-pleaser" orientation of girls, or possibly adolescent girls find that the curriculum particularly matches their concerns.

Urban blacks and whites were similar in their overall evaluation of the course.

2. The course rests on a verbal, discussion mode of learning. Students said they learned the most from whole class discussions; listening to the teacher was seen as more important than any of the course materials, such as readings or films. The primacy of the discussion mode was reflected also in students' selection of "express my own opinion in class" as the most difficult thing for them to do in the course. For these students, the preferred form of verbal interchange was whole class discussion; small group work was decidedly unpopular.

Girls and boys were relatively similar in their preferences of learning modes, though girls liked the verbal process somewhat better than did boys. Girls claimed they participated in discussion more than did boys. Nevertheless, there were no significant differences in students' assessment of the difficulty or value of the verbal mode.

On the other hand, urban black and white males varied considerably in their opinion of verbal interchange. (It should be remembered that this sample represents two integrated classrooms.) Whites are decidedly uncomfortable in discussion situations; for example, half the whites, but only 13% of the blacks found it difficult to express their opinions. Significantly more blacks than whites felt they learned the most from whole class discussion and liked that activity best.

3. Girls were more likely than boys to find the two readings, Crisis in Montgomery and Newark, 1967, hard to understand. The conceptual theme of each booklet is power, and the conceptual subtest showed they did not understand the idea of power. Teachers might want to compensate for the difficulties girls have with this concept by finding ways to make the idea accessible to them.

V. Detailed Analysis of Objective Measures

The objective-measurement component of the Black in White America evaluation aimed at determining overall student reaction to the course experience. After the course, did students formulate the nature of racial problems differently? Did they gain in ability to use the conceptual framework of the course? Were there detectable differences in the nature of solutions to racial problems they recommended? These were questions put to the pre- and post-test data. The checklist, administered once at the end of the course, gave students the opportunity to evaluate the classroom experience of studying the material.

In this report we will consider 1) the pre- and post-test response of the total sample, 2) the effects of sex and residential background on pre- and post-tests, 3) total sample response to the checklist, 4) the effects of sex differences on checklist responses, and 5) the relative importance of students' race and classroom climate in explaining students' reaction to the course (checklist and pre- and post-tests). Direct comparison of urban and suburban responses is not possible because extraneous variables exist in each situation: urban classes were all male and were racially integrated; suburban classes were sexually heterogeneous but racially homogeneous.

One hundred twenty-five students in seven classes were sampled. Four classes were suburban, one fringe-city, and two urban. Students were in the ninth, tenth and eleventh grade. Due to the small size of the black sample (nine males in two classes), we will not differentiate black and white responses, except as noted.

Evaluation Program
Education Development Center
15 Mifflin Place
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Winter 1970

Dear Student:

Now that you have finished studying the new course on Black/White issues we want you to answer this questionnaire. The questions ask for your opinions, so it is important for you to remember that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Sometimes you may think there is an answer we "want to hear." There is not.

No one who knows you will see your answers, not your teachers and not your friends. You will not be graded on these answers, so please say what you think. That is the way you can really help us. When you have finished the booklet, put it in the envelope you have been given and seal it. Your teachers will collect the envelopes and send them immediately to us at E.D.C.

Thank you very much for your help.

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

Name: ______________________ Grade: ______________________

Date: ______________________ Teacher: ______________________

1. Do your teachers' opinions of you in your classes affect your performance in those classes?

Pre	Post	
35	34	1) not at all
47	42	2) somewhat
15	21	3) considerably
3	3	4) completely

2. We all think of certain things when we think of different nationalities or races. Where do you get your images or ideas about the opposite race? (Choose the two most important.)

Pre	Post	
41	39	Newspapers and magazines
4	12	Music
5	14	Movies
30	30	Television
14	16	School history
47	46	Personal experience
24	19	Parents
29	31	Friends
3	3	Other (Explain briefly) ______________________

Do you think these ideas or images are changing?

Pre	Post	
38	45	1) Yes
33	41	2) Somewhat
28	15	3) No

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

3. Various groups have used different strategies for becoming part of the main stream of American life. The best strategies black people can use are: (Check two answers.)

Pre	Post	
31	43	Developing a strong black culture
21	22	Banding together politically
5	2	Setting up a separate black state
36	44	Non-violent protest
32	25	Each individual's own efforts
33	38	Improving the education of black children
5	5	Violent revolution
15	8	Setting up independent businesses to serve the black community
6	10	Legal and court action
9	7	Other (explain briefly) ________________________

4. Many people, whites and blacks, have different ideas about what they think "Black Power" is. What does it mean to you? (Check two answers.)

Pre	Post	
32	28	1) Organizing economically
14	20	2) Creating a separate black state
73	78	3) Building pride in blackness by not depending on whites
21	19	4) Arming blacks to defend against whites
9	3	5) Having large voter registration drives
17	14	6) Rioting
7	6	7) Having all black schools
12	7	8) Other (explain briefly) ________________________

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

5. In the following areas of life, how much discrimination do you think there is against black people? (Check one space for each question.)

	Lots		Some		Little		None	
	Pre	Post						
In dealing with the police	42	49	41	40	11	11	6	1
Getting a job	50	43	32	44	17	13	1	1
Treatment in school	8	8	40	35	34	43	19	15
In public services (such as transportation)	6	7	30	26	30	38	34	28
In books, movies, TV, and music	10	9	27	29	29	41	34	22
In election to public offices	42	51	29	34	22	13	7	3
In friendships	6	11	26	23	40	34	28	32
In news reporting	11	11	32	27	33	44	23	19
In sports	3	1	7	6	10	16	80	77

If you have special thoughts or experiences about any of the topics above, please comment here.

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

Many ideas have been discussed in this course. Three of them are:

group identity--what a group of people thinks or feels about itself.

group image-- what one group of people thinks or feels about another group of people.

power-- control over one's own life and influence on others.

Each statement that follows illustrates one of these ideas. Read the statement and then decide whether you would say it concerns group identity, group image, or power. Check one space for each item.

	Group Identity		Group Image		Power	
	Pre	Post				
Politics and politicians must be controlled by the community. People must no longer take orders from outside powers. They must organize.	28	31	28	27	44	42
Brothers and sisters, we have been living with The Man too long. We have to be proud of our blackness.	56	58	22	24	23	17
Farmers are hardworking, independent people.	34	32	46	57	19	10
Many parents believe that teenagers are not responsible and do not show enough respect to adults.	13	18	64	70	22	13
We are just ordinary workers. We're not smart enough to understand computers and all these fancy new machines.	58	68	31	24	10	8
Workers of the world, unite.	22	27	16	11	62	61
Immigrants to America succeed because they are determined to work hard and get ahead.	23	23	49	66	28	11
Recently a group of mothers agreed not to buy food at a local supermarket to protest rising prices.	18	16	29	33	54	51
Most poor people in America today are poor because they want to be. They make themselves the way they are by being lazy, uneducated, sick, and undependable.	25	18	64	78	11	4
We know we'll never succeed in life because we've already flunked out of school.	60	68	21	17	19	16
You've got to get out there and vote if you want to change things.	14	10	18	15	68	75

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

A black writer describes a situation which occurred in New Jersey in the 1940's. He walked into a fashionable restaurant and waited to be served, knowing that there was no law which required the restaurant to serve him.

> I frightened the waitress who shortly appeared, and the moment she appeared all of my fury flowed towards her. I hated her for her white face, and for her great, astounded frightened eyes. I felt that if she found a black man so frightening I would make her fright worthwhile.
>
> She did not ask me what I wanted, but repeated, as though she had learned it somewhere, "We don't serve Negroes here."
>
> Somehow, with the repetition of that phrase, which was already ringing in my head like a thousand bells of a nightmare, I realized that she would never come any closer and that I would have to strike from a distance. There was nothing on the table but an ordinary watermug half full of water, and I picked this up and hurled it with all my strength at her. She ducked and it missed her and shattered against the mirror behind the bar.
>
> And, with that sound, my frozen blood abruptly thawed, I returned from wherever I had been. I saw, for the first time, the restaurant, the people with their mouths open, already, as it seemed to me, rising as one man, and I realized what I had done, and where I was, and I was frightened. I rose and began running for the door. A round, potbellied man grabbed me by the nape of the neck just as I reached the doors and began to beat me about the face. I kicked him and got loose and ran into the streets. My friend whispered, "Run!" and I ran.

What do you suppose could have led up to this incident? (Choose one)

The writer:
Most

1 was upset because he had had a bad day at work.

8 believed only violence would achieve civil rights.

9 was trying to prove something to the friend he was with.

78 had become frustrated and angry because of repeated discrimination.

3 was the kind of person who "blows up" easily.

3 other (explain briefly)____________________________

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

How do you feel about the writer's behavior? (Choose I)

re	Post	
2	17	It was a different situation, but *I* have "blown up" the way the writer did.
6	10	It is hard for me to believe that *any* person would act the way the writer did.
6	61	A white person is *just as* likely to get violently angry in a similar situation.
7	4	I know people who have the same type of reactions.
4	5	A white person is *less* likely to get violently angry in a similar situation.
5	5	Other (explain briefly)____________________________

What would you do in the following situation?

A white parent has a child who is attending an inferior school. What would you recommend that this parent do? (Choose one)

re	Post	
5	7	Write a letter to his Congressman.
2	8	Call up the principal or the superintendent.
7	37	Send his child to a better school.
2	24	Organize a boycott with other parents not to send children to school until conditions change.
3	9	Organize with other parents to prevent anyone entering the school, thus closing the school down until improvements are made.
1	1	Send threatening letters to school board.
5	17	Call a special PTA meeting.
6	9	Do nothing.
6	2	Other (explain briefly)____________________________

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

A black parent has a child who is attending an inferior school. What would you recommend that this parent do?

Pre	Post	
5	6	Write a letter to his Congressman.
12	7	Call up the principal or the superintendent.
24	30	Send his child to a better school.
15	22	Organize a boycott with other parents not to send children to school until conditions change.
14	15	Organize with other parents to prevent anyone entering the school, thus closing the school down until improvements are made.
1	0	Send threatening letters to school board.
23	18	Call a special PTA meeting.
8	13	Do nothing.
7	2	Other (explain briefly)____________________

You are a black parent. Would you want racially integrated or all black schools for your children? (Choose one)

Pre	Post	
55	41	Integrated because your children will eventually have to live with whites, so they should learn how while young.
5	9	All black so your children will not be made to feel inferior to whites.
33	43	Integrated, because a racial mix in the classroom is a better educational experience.
0	4	All black so your children will have black teachers.
4	1	Integrated because that is the law.
1	2	All black if it is closest to home.
7	4	Other (explain briefly)____________________

Pre-Post Tests: Total Sample:[*]

In general, students thought about racial matters in much the same way before and after the course. A two-month course can provide information and conceptual inputs, and the process of studying race in school will generate a variety of feelings; but such short-term input may not produce discernible differences in the ways students analyze the best strategies for blacks to pursue or evaluate the amount of discrimination which exists. We will be looking, then, for specific examples of change within the context of general pre-post similarity.

In deciding on the two best strategies that blacks can use to become part of the mainstream of American life, students preferred the same four tactics on the pre- and post-tests, but showed considerable change in emphasis within this group of answers.

---

[*] Pre- and post-test results are given for a matched sample.

Various groups have used different strategies for becoming part of the mainstream of American life. The best strategies black people can use are: (Check two answers.)

Pre	Post	
31%	43%	Developing a strong black culture
21	22	Banding together politically
5	2	Setting up a separate black state
36	44	Non-violent protest
32	25	Each individual's own efforts
33	38	Improving the education of black children
5	5	Violent revolution
15	8	Setting up independent businesses to serve the black community
6	10	Legal and court action
9	7	Other (explain briefly)________________________

There is movement away from the "each individual's own effort" bootstrap notion, perhaps because the course makes students aware of the complexity and severity of the problems that blacks face. Private individual efforts at change are inadequate. Yet equally unacceptable are separatist and violent solutions: no more than five percent of the students ever opt for a separate black state or for violent revolution on either the pre- or post-test. Rather, cultural identity, peaceful protest, and education are seen as the most useful methods. "Developing a strong black culture," the item which showed the greatest gain, reflects the course emphasis on the purposes and effects of group image and group identity.

Looking separately at the small sample of nine urban black males and seventeen urban white males, we find that they, too, saw culture, education, and non-violent protest as the best strategies, but that developing a black culture was the most crucial factor for blacks (7 boys pre-test, 9 boys post-test). Interestingly, blacks moved from a pre-test position in which no blacks selected non-violent protest to 2 selecting this strategy on the post-test. While they attached increased importance to non-violent protest, they still were much less likely than whites to view this tactic as useful.

Question 4 read: "Many people, whites and blacks, have different ideas about what they think 'Black Power' is. What does it mean to you? (Check two answers.)" Overwhelmingly, students defined black power as "building pride in blackness by not depending on whites" (73% pre, 78% post). Economic organization was second, attracting about 30% of the responses pre and post. Other definitions, such as a separate black state, arming blacks and rioting were chosen between 15 and 20% of the time. Students' answers indicate that they had a notion of the meaning of black power before they took the EDC course, and that that experience did not change their views.

Black students also retained similar pre-post positions with regard to black power, and they agreed with whites that the crucial definition was "building pride in blackness by not depending on whites". They disagreed on the importance of "arming blacks to defend against whites"; as one would expect, blacks emphasized the necessity of self-defense (4 of 9 urban blacks vs. 2 of 17 urban whites on the post-test).

Students showed no changes in what they felt were the major ways they had developed their ideas about the opposite race. They were asked: "We all think of certain things when we think of different nationalities or races. Where did you get your images or ideas about the opposite race? (Choose the two most important.)" The top four choices, personal experience, newspapers and magazines, television, and friends, showed no pre-post differences. The role of music and movies increased, however, reflecting the course influence, but the initial position and the amount of increase both were small.

Students' opinions about whether these ideas are changing did show considerable pre-post change.

Do you think these ideas or images are changing?

Pre	Post	
38%	45%	Yes
33	41	Somewhat
28	15	No

The responses to this question seem to reflect the impact of the themes and emphases of the course.

The test included questions in which the student was expected to address matters of the quality of education and integrated versus separated schooling. The first stated: "A white parent has a child who is attending an inferior school. What would you recommend that this parent do? (Choose one.)" The second question was identical, except that the parent was black. Responses to the two questions were very similar, with students selecting the same top three choices in each case and showing similar pre-post movement.

White Parent		Black Parent		
Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
5%	7%	5%	6%	Write a letter to his Congressman.
12	8	12	7	Call up the principal or the superintendent.
27	37	24	30	Send his child to a better school.
12	24	15	22	Organize a boycott with other parents not to send children to school until conditions change.
13	9	14	15	Organize with other parents to prevent anyone entering the school, thus closing the school down until improvements are made.
1	1	1	0	Send threatening letters to school board.
25	17	23	18	Call a special PTA meeting.
6	9	8	13	Do nothing.
6	2	7	2	Other (Explain briefly)____________________

The pre-post responses indicate increased awareness of the necessity of strong measures to correct a harmful situation; for some the solution involved the individual placing himself in a better situation; for others an organized public protest (with the leverage of keeping children out of school) was the answer. Merely calling a PTA meeting became less satisfactory from pre- to post-test.

We explored further the nature or style of students' responses to the hypothetical situations by coding the alternatives "*group-action oriented*" (Organize a boycott with other parents not to send children to school until conditions change; Organize with other parents to prevent anyone entering the school, thus closing the school down until improvements are made; Call a special PTA meeting) or "*individual-action oriented*"

(Write a letter to his congressman; Call up the principal or the superintendent; Send his child to a better school; Send threatening letters to the school board). "Do nothing," and "other" were excluded. Since each orientation contained several mild and strong courses of action, we felt that the analysis tapped students' methodological approach to social problems rather than simply the conservatism-radicalism dichotomy. The group-action versus individual-action distinction was developed because the course was attempting to help students see the power of organized effort to promote change. For example, consider the section on Montgomery: the reading told the story of the development and effects of the bus boycott, and one activity was for students to work in groups to develop the strategies for a particular group in the controversy. In the first section of the course, too, the theme is group affiliation in terms of identity and image.

There was no significant pre to post movement toward group-action on either question. Despite the results for the total sample, however, there was differential response of males and females on this dimension. Whereas males became significantly more group oriented, females moved in the opposite direction, and were more likely to opt for individual action at the end of the course. (see p. 84 for a fuller explanation.)

Another test question was: "You are a black parent. Would you want racially integrated or all black schools for your children? (Choose one.)" On both pre- and post-tests, students overwhelmingly favored integrated schooling; yet a small minority moved over time to a separatist position. On the pre-test, 6% chose a rationale for all black schools; on the post-test, 15% opted for black schools, with 9% making the choice "so your children will not be made to feel inferior to whites." That blacks are often made to feel such inferiority is stressed in the course materials and reflected in students' answers.

Pre	Post	
55%	41%	Integrated because your children will eventually have to live with whites, so they should learn how while young.
5	9	All black so your children will not be made to feel inferior to whites.
33	43	Integrated because a racial mix in the classroom is a better educational experience.
0	4	All black so your children will have black teachers.
4	1	Integrated because that is the law.
1	2	All black if it is closest to home.

The selection (or lack of selection) of various rationales is intriguing. It appears that the favored options are those which contain a statement of the educational advantages to children. This is true of both the integrationist and separatist stands. An insignificant handful believed in integration "because that is the law", and their number decreased pre to post. The first integrationist choice, "integrated because your children will eventually have to live with whites, so they should learn how while young," suggests that children should accomodate themselves to the existing society, The second, "integrated because a racial mix in the classroom is a better educational experience," clearly states that benefits to children accrue from an integrated education. There was significant pre to post movement away from the first position and toward the second. Similarly, of the minority of students favoring all black schools, most selected "all black so your children will not be made to feel inferior to whites", the separatist option with the clearest statement of educational and psychological benefits.

Another possible inference from the data is that the course experience made students more aware of the complexities of racial problems and more sensitive to the feelings of blacks: the almost all-white sample initially saw the practical value of black children learning to live in a white world; later they were more able to empathize with the general "educational value" explanation blacks today might be more likely to give. An alternate interpretation of the data is that initially students saw integration as benefitting blacks, whereas later they viewed integrated schooling as valuable for blacks and whites alike.

In a different vein, we sought to assess students' learning of the concepts underlying the course in an eleven-item subtest that asked students to identify statements as indicative of group identity, group image, or power. The percentage of students selecting the correct response, as shown below, indicates that students gained in their ability to apply the concepts of identity and image, but failed to understand the idea of power. Each of the seven identity and image items registered pre to post gains; yet three of the four power items showed pre-post declines. The data speak for themselves, and require only the note that most teachers in this field test did not teach the units on jobs, so that there was little reason to expect students to develop notions of economic power.

Many ideas will be discussed in this course. Three of them are:

group identity -- what a group of people thinks or feels about itself.

group image -- what one group of people thinks or feels about another group of people.

power -- control over one's own life and influence on others.

Each statement that follows illustrates one of these ideas. Read the statement and then decide whether you would say it concerns group identity, group image, or power. Check one space for each item.

	Percentage Selecting Correct Answer	
	Pre	Post
Politics and politicians must be controlled by the community. People must no longer take orders from outside powers. They must organize. (power)	44	42
Brothers and sisters, we have been living with The Man too long. We have to be proud of our blackness. (group identity)	56	58
Farmers are hardworking, independent people. (group image)	46	57
Many parents believe that teenagers are not responsible and do not show enough respect to adults. (group image)	64	70
We are just ordinary workers. We're not smart enough to understand computers and all these fancy new machines. (group identity)	58	68
Workers of the world, unite. (power)	62	61
Immigrants to America succeed because they are determined to work hard and get ahead. (group image)	49	66
Recently a group of mothers agreed not to buy food at a local supermarket to protest rising prices. (power)	54	51
Most poor people in America today are poor because they want to be. They make themselves the way they are by being lazy, uneducated, sick and undependable. (group image)	64	78
We know we'll never succeed in life because we've already flunked out of school. (group identity)	60	68
You've got to get out there and vote if you want to change things. (power)	68	75

Effects of Sex and Residential Background on Pre and Post Tests: Evaluation of two earlier EDC curricula on race, the trial version of The Afro American and the television-based program of One Nation, Indivisible?, showed sex-related differences in students' responses to the materials and differences in their attitudes about racial matters. Males responded with less equanimity than did females to the ideas presented. Males were more likely to choose group-action solutions to racial problems than were their female counterparts. Further, sex differences overrode other factors, such as geographic background. These differences, however, were small in comparison to the generally similar responses of all students within each course. Given these results, we analyzed the Black in White America tests to see if sex differences again emerged. While sex does appear to effect students' responses, so does residential background (urban-suburban).

For purposes of curriculum revision, the Black in White America working party sought a broad range of classrooms using the material; the seven classes ranged from ninth to eleventh grade, racially integrated to all-white, urban to small fringe city to suburban. Practical considerations of the interests and schedules of various schools led to field testing in certain schools and not others; the net effect of this was to add to the diversity of test situations. The two urban classes, for example, were all-male and were the only racially integrated classrooms; the fringe city class was almost entirely female.

While such diversity may well represent the range of real world situations in which the course will be taught, the small size and non-equivalent nature of segments of the sample made comparisons difficult.

Only very tentative conclusions are possible. Nevertheless, we did compare four subsamples: suburban males, suburban females, fringe city females, and urban males. (There were no urban females.) All students in these comparisons were white; for differences between black and white urban males, see page 113.

The most important differences emerging from pre-post test d[illegible] are:

1. Suburban boys, suburban girls and fringe city girls comprise[illegible] relatively homogeneous group both in terms of their initial orientation toward racial problems and in the way the course affected their responses. From pre- to post-test, there was a decrease in the number of items on which the groups differed significantly.
2. Urban males represented a distinct group. They differed markedly from suburban males on the pre-test, and these differences actually increased on the post-test. To an almost equal degree, urban males differed from fringe city females (who were considered closest to these boys in socio-economic background).
3. Diversity of student opinion is a reality with which teachers must deal. There was range within each of the categories; similar range of response was found when the individual classroom was the unit of analysis. While we might wish for clear distinctions about how different types of students think about racial matters, these data indicate that single variables (sex, residency, integration, etc.) did not account for the responses elicited.
4. Group-action vs. individual-action solutions to hypothetical racial problems* -- On the pre-test, sex differences overrode other factors

---

*One question asked: "A white parent has a child who is attending an inferior school. What would you recommend that this parent do? (Choose one.)" The next question was the same, except that the parent was black. See p. 78 for coding of answers and rationale.

(such as residency), and these differences were in the direction opposite to the one expected. Boys, urban and suburban, were alike in their unwillingness to recommend group-action alternatives. Fringe-city and suburban girls were alike in their strong preference for group-action choices. (In prior evaluations the positions of the sexes were reversed.) On the post-test, the urban boys, suburban boys and suburban girls were relatively alike. Pre to post scores indicated that both groups of boys had become more group-action oriented, while the suburban girls had moved away from a group-action position. Fringe-city girls, on the other hand, had started with a strong group preference and increased in this orientation over time.

Subsample	Percentage of Students Choosing Group-Action Responses	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test
suburban boys		
white parent	31%	43%
black parent	36	55
urban boys		
white parent	21	50
black parent	40	47
fringe city girls		
white parent	67	75
black parent	65	72
suburban girls	69	
white parent	80	58
black parent		60

5. We examined male-female differences on the subtest designed to tap students' understanding of the concepts of group identity, group image and power. This comparison was restricted to suburban boys and girls to minimize the variance in factors such as IQ and SES which would influence students' scores. All students were in sexually heterogeneous classes.

	Percentage Selecting Correct Response			
	Male Suburban		Female Suburban	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Politics and politicians must be controlled by the community. People must no longer take orders from outside powers. They must organize. (power)	47%	56%	52%	40%
Brothers and sisters, we have been living with The Man too long. We have to be proud of our blackness. (group identity)	39	53	76	77
Farmers are hardworking, independent people. (group image)	33	42	55	64
Many parents believe that teenagers are not responsible and do not show enough respect to adults. (group image)	84	79	84	73
We are just ordinary workers. We're not smart enough to understand computers and all these fancy new machines. (group identity)	68	74	70	76
Workers of the world, unite. (power)	47	68	70	71
Immigrants to America succeed because they determined to work hard and get ahead. (group image)	32	68	71	77
Recently a group of mothers agreed not to buy food at a local supermarket to protest rising prices. (power)	42	47	80	70
Most poor people in America today are poor because they want to be. They make themselves the way they are by being lazy, uneducated, sick and undpendable. (group image)	53	74	84	83
We know we'll never succeed in life because we've already flunked out of school. (group identity)	63	68	67	83
You've got to get out there and vote if you want to change things. (power)	63	89	90	76

We found important differences between boys and girls on pre- and post-tests, which were even more surprising in light of the relative similarity of their total test response. On the pre-test, girls did better than boys on all but one conceptual item. These differences were significant for seven items. On the post-test, girls did better than boys on eight items; there were significant differences on four of these items.

If we examine the pre and post scores of suburban males and females, we see that males learned more from the course: on ten of eleven items they showed pre-post gains. Girls gained on only six items. Both girls and boys registered gains on each of the three identity items. Boys gained on three of the four image questions; girls gained on two of these. Boys showed pre-post increases on each of the four power items; girls increased on only one power item. It appears that girls had particular difficulty handling the concept of power, while boys grew in their ability to use the concept. As the checklist findings corroborate, there seems to be an interaction between students' sex and conceptual content which produced a differential in learning.

Comparison of the concept scores of suburban students with those of the total sample indicates that, in general, suburban scores were higher. Fringe-city girls and urban boys contributed the lower than average scores on the concept subtest. Classes in the suburban, fringe-city and urban group were comparable in age range. In terms of predicting conceptual knowledge, then, it appears that residential background is the key variable.

Checklist: Total Sample:

When asked to evaluate their course experiences in terms of the significance of the learnings involved, classroom procedures, materials, and basic goals, students gave a highly positive assessment. To determine students' general assessment of the course we developed a course evaluation score based on responses to six questions on the checklist. Each student received one point if he selected the most favorable answer to these questions:

In this course, I have learned: (many important things)

Compared to regular social studies, in this course I have learned: (more than usual)

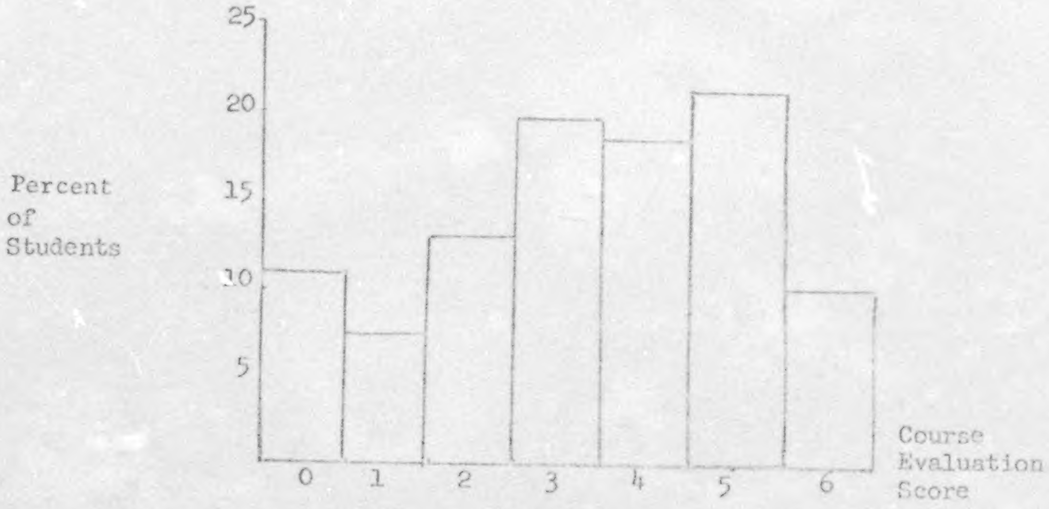
How much have you participated in class discussions in this course? (more than usual OR same as always [frequently])

This course has seemed to me: (important)

This course has seemed to me: (interesting OR enjoyable)

This course has been: (fair to both blacks and whites)

Thus, course evaluation scores ranged from 0 (the student has selected none of the above responses) to 6 (the student selected a favorable answer on all of the questions). Students tended to fall in the upper or favorable-evaluation part of the range; 50% scored between 4 and 6, while 30% scored 0 - 2.



Education Development Center
15 Mifflin Place
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

January 1970

Dear Student:

For the past three months you have been taking a new course about racial problems and how black people and white people feel about these problems. Since the course is new and is being taught in only a few schools, we would like your evaluation of it. So we are asking for your opinion on all the materials you have used and all the work you have done. This will help us to improve the course for the students who will take it next year.

Please fill out this confidential evaluation checklist. As we have said before, all these evaluation questionnaires are confidential and have no effect on your grade. The only answers to the checklist are your own opinions--there are no "right" or "wrong" answers.

Thank you very much for helping us.

Sincerely,

The E.D.C. Evaluators

Education Development Center

TOTAL SAMPLE

Black-White Checklist

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

Name:______________________ Date:________________

School:______________________

Grade:________

A. In this course, I have learned: (check one)

10 1. nothing important
42 2. a few important things
48 3. many important things

B. Compared to regular social studies, in this course I have learned: (check one)

9 1. less than usual
43 2. about the same as usual
48 3. more than usual

C. In this course: (check one)

3 1. the teacher does most of the talking
61 2. the teacher and a few students do most of the talking
37 3. all the students and the teacher participate about equally

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

D. How much have you participated in class discussion in this course? (check one)

16 1. less than usual

20 2. more than usual

40 3. same as always (occasionally)

24 4. same as always (frequently)

E. This course has seemed to me: (check one)

9 1. waste of time

68 2. important

23 3. I have no feelings one way or the other

F. This course has seemed to me: (check one)

10 confusing

27 easy

5 difficult

48 well-organized

16 long

G. This course has seemed to me: (check one)

68 interesting

6 disturbing

18 boring

14 enjoyable

2 embarrassing

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

H. In this course, the most difficult things for me to do were: (check two)

10 understand the films

22 understand the tape recordings

15 understand the readings

33 use the materials to support a point of view

34 express my own opinion in class

26 do written work

3 see any point in studying about race

20 take part in small group discussions

10 apply the materials to current events

11 other ______________________________

I. In this course I have learned the most from: (check two

12 working in small groups

38 listening to the teacher

58 whole class discussions

30 readings

4 tape recordings

11 doing written work

24 films

8 acting things out in class

3 other ______________________________

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

J. In this course I have liked best: (check two)

18 working in small groups

28 listening to the teacher

[✓ 55] whole class discussions

18 readings

7 tape recordings

6 doing written work

[✓ 47] films

8 acting things out in class

6 other____________________

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

K. We would like to know how you felt about the different activities and materials in this course. For *every item* below, circle as many numbers as apply. For example, if you thought a booklet was "full of information" and "hard to understand", you would circle numbers 2 and 3 next to that booklet.

	1 = Don't remember	2 = Full of information	3 = Hard to understand	4 = Too one-sided	5 = Interesting
the film, "Nothing But a Man"	1 5	2 36	3 18	4 7	5 82
the film showing students	1 35	2 20	3 11	4 9	5 20
the tape recording of music	1 7	2 13	3 43	4 6	5 37
the tape recordings of Dick Gregory talking about riots and history	1 19	2 21	3 22	4 12	5 43
acting out the play, "Raisin in the Sun"	1 32	2 21	3 12	4 8	5 51
gold booklet, *That's All that I Remember*	1 28	2 44	3 10	4 8	5 47
tan booklet, *Crisis in Montgomery*	1 9	2 51	3 23	4 15	5 48
yellow booklet, *You Can't Tell It Like It Is*	1 20	2 38	3 11	4 12	5 39
green booklet, *Newark, 1967*	1 11	2 54	3 22	4 13	5 48
brown booklet, *What Did You Learn in School Today?*	1 38	2 26	3 11	4 4	5 36
booklet, *How to Get a Better Job!*	1 40	2 11	3 10	4 11	5 24
booklet, *Blacks Have to Score Higher*	10	3	-	1	5

TOTAL SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES

L. I think the goals of this course have been: (check two)

47 to understand ideas like image, identity and power
24 for everyone to express his opinion about race
34 to learn about the black point of view
5 to get whites to like blacks
4 to get blacks to like whites
38 to learn the history of racial problems
44 to learn what young people can do to improve understanding between people of different races
4 to use information to support a point of view
9 other ____________________

M. This course has been: (check one)

5 1. too much the white point of view
57 2. fair to both blacks and whites
38 3. too much the black point of view

N. I would recommend that this course: (check one)

9 1. not be taught in schools again
72 2. be taught to all students
1 3. be taught to black students only
1 4. be taught to white students only
17 5. other

Looking at the individual questions in the checklist, we find that:

1. Forty-eight percent of the students felt they had learned "many important things" in the course, and this was more than they usually learn in social studies. Similarly, 68% of the students said the course seemed important, compared with 9% who thought it was a waste of time and 23% who were neutral.
2. One question asked students to select one word which best described the course: given affect-laden words, students chose positive ones (interesting, enjoyable - 82% total) rather than negative ones (disturbing, boring, embarassing - 26% total).
3. Of a list of words describing the structure of the course, students chose well-organized - 48% and easy - 27%; confusing, difficult and long received a total of 31% of the responses.
4. In terms of a general evaluation of the course, 57% thought it was "fair to both blacks and whites", although a significant minority, 38% thought it was "too much the black point of view."
5. Yet, even with the preceding qualification, 72% of the students recommended that the course "be taught to all students." Students rejected completely the idea of teaching the material to racially segregated classes, perhaps because they felt the material was best utilized in an integrated situation, perhaps because they simply rejected the concept of racially segregated schooling (see p. 79). Only 9% finished the course with the feeling that the material should not be taught again to anyone.
6. A number of other questions asked students to comment on the materials and learning modes employed in the course. We wanted

to know what methods students liked, what they learned from, what was difficult for them. As do other EDC social studies curriculum pieces, this course emphasizes a verbal, discussion mode of learning. Students learned the most from whole class discussions - 58%; and listening to the teacher - 38%. The latter choice is somewhat surprising, as listening to the teacher is seen as more important than any of the course materials, such as readings, films, etc. Fifty-five percent of the students liked best whole class discussion.

7. Sixty-one percent of the students felt that "in this course the teacher and a few students do most of the talking", while 37% felt "all the students and the teacher participate about equally."

8. When asked "How much have you participated in class discussion in this course?" the first choice(of 40% of the sample) was "Same as always (occasionally)". Responses to this question were as follows:

less than usual	16%
more than usual	20
same as always (occasionally)	40
same as always (frequently)	24

9. The primacy of the discussion mode is reflected in the most-often-selected response to two further questions about the course experience. The most difficult thing was to "express my own opinion in class" - 34%; and to "use the materials to support a point of view" - 33%. While the second may not necessarily refer to an oral mode, it is likely that students were referring to discussion or debate situations in which they were asked to move beyond opinion to justification based on

specific evidence. Finally, of the different possible ways of working through the course, students liked best whole class discussions - 55%.

Looking further at the questions which asked students what they liked, learned from, and found difficult, we gain insight into issues of media and learning modes and also into students' ability to discriminate between their enjoyment of a method and its functional value. Students answered the following questions:

In this course, the most difficult things for me to do were:
(check two)

10 %	understand the films
22	understand the tape recordings
15	understand the readings
33	use the materials to support a point of view
34	express my own opinion in class
26	do written work
3	see any point in studying about race
20	take part in small group discussions
10	apply the materials to current events
11	other

In this course I have learned the most from: (check two)

12%	working in small groups
38	listening to the teacher
58	whole class discussions
30	readings
4	tape recordings
11	doing written work
24	films
8	acting things out in class
3	other

In this course I have liked best: (check two)

18%	working in small groups
28	listening to the teacher
55	whole class discussions
18	readings
7	tape recordings
6	doing written work
47	films
8	acting things out in class
6	other

The course employs a variety of media in its inputs to students; reading, films, tape recordings, the teacher, and other students feed in information and ideas. Verbal or oral interchange is the primary mode of student output. We will examine students' reflections on the oral (discussion), visual (films), aural (listening to recordings or to the teacher), and written (reading and writing) learning modes.

Oral: Students engaged in whole class discussion or small group work; the former was seen as more enjoyable and more important for learning. Fifty-eight percent of the students said they learned the most from whole class discussions; only 12% chose small group work. Likewise, 55% liked best whole class discussions; while 18% liked small group work best. Based on interview and observation data about the operation of classes in this field trial, we can suppose that the low response to small group work is due to the lack of such activities in many classes and to the general lack of such experiences in the high schools. Elementary grade children, in contrast, prefer working in a group with a few other students, claiming that it facilitates discussion. An age or maturational factor may be operating which makes the group work more appropriate for younger children; but it may simply reflect the previous experience of this sample.

Again reflecting the importance of the oral mode, students considered expressing their own opinion in class the most difficult thing for them to do (34%). Twenty percent found it difficult to take part in small group discussions. Two choices in the "most difficult things for me to do" question express further sources of difficulty in the oral learning mode (though it is possible that they refer to written expression): 33% found it difficult to use the materials to support a point of view;

10% thought it difficult to apply the materials to current events.

As mentioned earlier, the oral mode is one of input to the student--he learns from his fellows--and output from him. The two processes occur and interact with simultaneity. Implicit, too, in a description of an oral mode is its active character; if students choose to participate, they develop and shape the discussion.

Visual: Students were very careful to discriminate between their enjoyment of film and the importance of film to learning. It should be noted, though, that film occupies a quantitatively small role among the course inputs. "Nothing But a Man" was shown in the first unit, and had significant emotional impact (see interview data). The only other film material was a videotape of three classes discussing racial problems, and many students never saw this. In this course, then, students' reaction to film input was actually a response to particular footage. Forty-seven percent said they liked film best of the various learning situations; this meant that they ranked film second among nine choices. Only 24% said they learned the most from films; films ranked fourth of nine choices. Film material presented no particular difficulty to students: only 10% said that the most difficult thing to do in the course was to understand the film.

Aural: This mode involves listening to tape recordings or to the teacher. While listening to recordings is an obvious example of the listening mode, one may argue about the classification of listening to the teacher as aural activity. It was placed here because of the explicit wording of the option, "listening to the teacher", which would imply that the teacher was lecturing, that the teacher was speaking at some length and was doing more than commenting or giving directions, etc.

As would be expected, students responded very differently to listening to recordings and to the teacher. There were three recordings in the course: the tape of songs about blacks and two tapes of Dick Gregory talking about riots and history. Recordings were seen as unimportant to learning (ranking last of the choices given) and as not liked (ranking seventh on the "liked best" dimension). Yet students remembered listening to the tapes, as indicated by their judgments of the tapes as difficult to understand (22% chose "understand the tape recordings" as one of the two most difficult things to do). The comprehension problem likely is a combination of mechanical failures resulting in an inability to hear the material and difficulty with dialect.

Listening to the teacher, on the other hand, was considered important for learning (38% said they learned the most from listening to the teacher, placing it second of nine choices) but fewer students liked listening to the teacher (28% selected it on the "liked best" question, placing it third of nine choices). The importance of this mode of learning suggests that, overall, classes were conducted in a somewhat traditional manner.

Written: This mode consists of reading and writing. Reading materials were seen as fairly important to learning in the course: 30% selected the choice, third from the top. Fewer students, 18%, considered readings one of the best liked parts of the course. Surprisingly enough, students did not claim to have encountered difficulty in understanding the readings--only 15% called the readings difficult. The students' rating was in contrast to the opinions expressed by classroom teachers and by EDC staff. Quite possibly, students did not want to admit reading problems; possibly teachers adjusted the reading assignments to the level of their classes, so that in fact the reading was not too difficult for students.

Written work was distinctly unpopular. Students considered it the least liked part of the course, among the less important ways of learning about the course, and nonetheless the third most difficult thing to do. What these judgments mean for curriculum revision is unclear: one wants to retain some written exercises for the development of expository skills and to provide one form of feedback to the teacher; yet one wants to eliminate unpalatable aspects of a curriculum.

Finally, we can examine students' responses to particular course materials: the question asked students to rate each booklet, film, and recording by circling all the items that apply:

don't remember
full of information
hard to understand
too one-sided
interesting

Unfortunately, the question yielded less useful information than we had hoped, because 1) many students did not use all the course materials and 2) "interesting" became a catch-all choice and probably inhibited students from selecting other choices. Some of the data, nevertheless, provide corroboration of responses to other questions and suggest that the questionnaire is internally consistent. For instance, "Nothing But a Man" was exceedingly popular--82% found it interesting; 36% thought it full of information; only 5% failed to remember it. (We are interpreting this last category as indicating that students either did not actually use the material or that they did and don't remember much about it.) The response to "Nothing But a Man" is consistent with students calling film one of the best-liked parts of the course. The tape recording of music again was considered hard to understand; in fact, it was the hardest to understand of all the materials in the course. (It has been omitted from the new version of the course.)

Students consistently failed to choose "too one-sided" as a description of course materials. No more than 15% ever selected this category. In another checklist question students rated the course as "fair to both blacks and whites." It is interesting to note, however, that on the latter question more students were willing to make the general statement that the course was "too much the black point of view" than would claim that a specific material was one-sided. There are a number of possible explanations: students may be more apt to express their criticism in general than in specific terms; they may be indicating that, while materials were fair, class discussions favored the black view.

Students' evaluations of Crisis in Montgomery and Newark, 1967 raise an intriguing problem of pedagogy and learning.

	Don't Remember	Full of Information	Hard to Understand	Too One-Sided	Interesting
Crisis in Montgomery	9%	51%	23%	15%	48 %
Newark, 1967	11	54	22	13	48

Response to the two booklets is remarkably consistent: students used the materials; they found them informative and interesting. A minority found them hard to understand; we know that *Newark* was particularly difficult in reading and conceptual level. And despite the violent conclusions to the Newark story, students did not find the presentation too one-sided. From the student point of view, the materials intended to develop the concept of power were successful. Results of the pre-post test, however, show small *declines* in the percentage of students answering the power items correctly on the concepts subtest (see p. 81). The course failed to teach an understanding of the concept of power. The fact that a fair number of students found the booklets hard to understand contributes to, but does not seem sufficient to explain the test results. It may be that the booklets and the accompanying activities were too informational; that is, they may have overemphasized details to the detriment of the underlying concept. It was found in interviews, for example, that students could talk at length about the incident that triggered the Newark riot, but that they did not use larger organizing themes to explain the situation. In short, students failed to generalize about power.

Male and Female Responses to the Checklist:

The responses of all males and all females were compared to see if sex-related differences emerged in students' perceptions of the process of learning involved in Black in White America. We did not distinguish males and females on socio-economic dimensions because we felt that students' analyses of the course process would be more closely related to the idiosyncrasies of the processes in different classrooms than to socio-economic variables. Because of the small sample size, we considered simply the reactions of all males and females.

Male and female responses to the course can be differentiated along three general dimensions: first, girls tended to evaluate the course more seriously; were more apt to consider the experience "important" and more likely to feel they learned a lot. Second, and possibly related to the first, girls were more likely than boys to choose "interesting". In some cases the difference meant that boys instead chose a more negative option; in other instances boys selected a non-answer, such as "don't remember." Third, the few sex-related differences in reaction to various learning styles occurred around reading and talking. Not surprisingly, adolescent girls were more comfortable and participated more in the verbal mode. It is interesting, however, that boys and girls in the EDC fifth grade course, Man: A Course of Study, showed no differences in verbal participation. Finally, given the overall similarity of males and females, there was a larger than expected difference in the perceptions of the two sexes about the goals of the course.

Two examples of the ways in which girls see the course as more "important" than do boys are:

This course has seemed to me: (check one)

Males	Females	
13%	4 %	1. waste of time
59	76	2. important
28	20	3. I have no feelings one way or the other.

Compared to regular social studies, in this course I have learned: (check one)

Males	Females	
16	2	1. less than usual
38	46	2. about the same as usual
45	52	3. more than usual

It should be noted that, despite their differences, the vast majority of boys and girls felt they were learning at least as much as they normally did in social studies.

It may be that girls' answers describing the course as important and interesting reflect their "teacher-pleaser" orientation. Why not be charitable in the evaluation of this experimental material? It is just as likely, though, that adolescent girls 1) are more interested in the lives of people, 2) extend this empathy to the situations delineated in the course, and, therefore, 3) see greater significance to the course.

Seventy-four percent of the females, as compared to 61% of the males, rated the course "interesting" in response to question G. A small but intriguing difference occurred on the "enjoyable" option to that question: males were more apt to see the course as enjoyable (18 vs. 11%). Perhaps this difference again relates to the school-oriented seriousness which girls bring to the situation.

Question K asked students to rate each discrete piece of course material as "don't remember", "full of information","hard to understand", "too one-sided", or "interesting", selecting as many descriptions as apply. There were no important differences in judgments about one-sidedness; few students of either sex thought the materials were biased.

Again, only small percentages of students found the materials hard to understand (with the exception of the tape recording of music, which suffered from technical sound reproduction problems). Girls were more likely to find the readings hard to understand (Crisis in Montgomery and Newark, 1967). Possibly they found the conceptual content of these particular materials less appealing and thus "harder" to read. It may be that adolescent girls accept a role differentiation which considers power a male idea. Possibly, they had objective difficulty with the content, but it is hard to imagine why particular content should be harder for students who generally achieve greater comprehension -- unless, of course, one looks to motivational factors. It is interesting that students' responses are consistent with other measures. On other checklist questions, girls were more likely than boys to claim that the reading was difficult. On the pre-post test of the concepts of identity, image and power, boys consistently did better than girls on power questions (and power was the concept to be taught in the Montgomery and Newark materials). Boys found materials emphasizing a verbal mode more difficult than girls did (the tape recording of music, the tape of Dick Gregory talking about riots and history, and acting out "Raisin in the

Sun").

Significantly more boys than girls found the following selections "full of information": the film, "Nothing But a Man", the play, "Raisin in the Sun", the booklet, Newark, 1967. The booklet, That's All that I Remember, containing autobiographical selections and emphasizing the concepts of image and identity, was seen as more informative by girls. The film and play, of course, also developed these themes. So while there seems to be a relation between sex and conceptual preference, it doesn't explain all circumstances.

As suggested earlier, it appears that girls preferred to select a mildly positive response such as "interesting". On the four items which showed a sex difference in the percentage choosing "interesting", the difference always was such that more girls than boys selected that option. In what appears to be the other side of the coin, more boys than girls selected "don't remember" when there was a significant difference in the percentage choosing that category.

In terms of the ways in which students liked to learn about the ideas in the course, the ways which were most difficult for them, and the ways which they perceived as most valuable, there were relatively few male-female differences. Girls were more apt to see the readings as difficult but also to claim that they learned the most from them. Girls liked the verbal process (small group and whole class discussion) better than did boys. Similarly, many more girls than boys claimed they participated in class discussion "same as always (frequently)": 35% of the girls vs. 16% of the boys.

From the responses to "I think the goals of this course have been: (check two)", it appears that boys and girls had some different perceptions of the purpose of the course. Girls referred more to the conceptual content and to the elements of interpersonal understanding.

Male	Female	
40%	56%	to understand ideas like image, identity and power
28	38	to learn about the black point of view
40	50	to learn what young people can do to improve understanding between people of different races

Boys more than girls emphasized talk without a particular content:

28	19	for everyone to express his opinion about race

Effects of Race and Classroom Environment on Students' Responses :

We examined the data from a small sample of urban males (17 whites and 9 blacks) to see if we could discern racial differences in test and checklist responses. There were two racially integrated classes; one ninth grade, the other tenth grade. Since we had classroom observation data and interview protocols from the two groups, we also considered the effects of particular classroom situations. As described, the two teachers were distinctly different, and the tone of the class sessions varied with the teacher. Student interviews corroborated our observations.

Two types of comparisons were made: in one we compared whites and blacks without regard to their classroom membership; in the other we compared all the members of one class with all the members of another. We found far more differences between classrooms than between races. Classroom atmosphere was far more important in determining students' response (as tapped by the checklist) than was racial affiliation. This double comparison was made on the checklist only, because differences in grade level and ability of the two classrooms made between-class pre-post test comparisons inappropriate. On the tests, therefore, we simply examined the responses of all urban blacks and all urban whites.

Considering first the checklist, we found that racial differences outweighed classroom differences on ten of the 46 items analyzed, but that classroom differences were significantly greater than racial differences on 17 items. Race affected students' responses to questions about the verbal learning mode. White students had difficulty with and were uncomfortable in class discussions. Fifty percent of the whites found it difficult to express their opinions, whereas only 13% of the blacks encountered difficulty. Eighty-nine percent of the blacks, compared to

58% of the whites, learned the most from whole class discussion. Similarly, 67% of the blacks and only 42% of the whites liked best whole class discussion. Finally, 56% of the blacks and none of the whites said they had participated in class discussions "same as always (frequently)".

Whites were happier in those situations in which they were NOT engaged in discussions with their black classmates. Forty-two percent of the whites (versus 23% of the blacks) liked best listening to the teacher. And while none of the blacks liked readings best, 21% of the whites selected this option. In line with the evidence that whites did not like verbal contacts, more whites than blacks liked best the films (58% whites versus 33% blacks). For explanation of these racial differences, see name section.

Other differences between the races are less clear-cut. Blacks were more likely to select as one of the goals of the course "to understand ideas like image, identity and power" (63% blacks versus 44% whites), whereas many more whites than blacks felt the goal was "for everyone to express his opinion about race" (44% whites versus 13% blacks).

Despite their specific negative comments about the course, the vast majority of white students agreed with blacks that they had learned "a few" or "many" important things in the course. Also, it is important for the classroom teacher to note that white urban students overwhelmingly (94%) endorsed teaching the course to all students. This recommendation stands as a counterbalance to discomfort registered by whites on other questions in the checklist and in the interviews. Blacks, too, thought the course should be taught to all students (67%), though one student suggested it never be taught again (11%), and another, that it be taught to blacks only (11%).

Differences in the two urban classroom accounted for significant differences on more than one third of the checklist items. To explain the nature of these differences, we may point to differences[*] in students' age, students' ability, and teachers' style, but the real import of between-classroom differences is that they represent the idiosyncratic nature of particular mixes of teacher, pupils and material. The differences, moreover, appear on all but one of the analyzed checklist questions. Because one cannot extrapolate from these differences, they will not be detailed here. It is crucial to note, however, that such classroom differences were the rule and not the exception in our sample. Since between-classroom differences were commonplace, it appears that the teacher -- his methods, style, attitudes -- is the crucial determinant of the success of the Black in White America curriculum.

As in the case of the checklist, there were few differences on the pre- and post-tests which could be attributed to race. Most questions showed insignificant variation between the races, though the following differences were noted. Urban whites failed to see the importance of "developing a strong black culture" on either the pre- or post-test, while blacks viewed this as paramount. On the other hand, whites emphasized nonviolent protest, and blacks largely rejected this option. Students of the two races moved in opposite directions on "banding together politically", with blacks moving away from political activity from pre- to post test. Nevertheless, whites and blacks both see "improving the education of black children" as an important way blacks can gain entry into the mainstream of American life. Stereotypical differences, such as whites recommending individual action and blacks opting for violent revolution, did not occur.

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[*] The less positive evaluations were given by the younger class (9th grade versus 10th grade), of lower ability, with a less self-confident teacher.

Various groups have used different strategies for becoming part of the main stream of American life. The best strategies black people can use are: (check two answers.)

Whites		Blacks		
Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
29%	29%	70%	90%	Developing a strong black culture
6	29	40	10	Banding together politically
6	6	10	0	Setting up a separate black state
47	71	0	20	Non-violent protest
18	12	0	0	Each individual's own efforts
47	35	30	40	Improving the education of black children
6	6	0	10	Violent revolution
18	18	50	20	Setting up independent businesses to serve the black community
6	6	0	10	Legal and court action
6	0	0	0	Other (explain briefly)____________________

Students' responses to the question of what black power means were remarkably similar. On the pre-test, blacks chose economic organization and "building pride in blackness...." more than did whites. In light of the previous "best strategies" question, it should be noted that on the post-test blacks and whites were equivalent in the percent choosing "building pride in blackness...." It appears, then, that while these white students did not recommend the development of black cultural identity, they did recognize that the concept was the most important part of the idea of black power. On the post-test, the only significant difference occurred on the item "rioting" with more whites claiming that black power means rioting (28% whites versus no blacks).

Blacks and whites had a similar grasp of identity, image and power, as measured by the concepts sub-test. On the pre-test, blacks scored significantly higher than whites on two items and significantly lower on one item. On the post-test, blacks scored higher than whites on the two items in which significant differences were registered.

The few differences that emerged on the two questions, "A white (black) parent has a child who is attending an inferior school. What would you recommend that this parent do?", were such that whites, more than blacks, suggested calling the principal and calling a special PTA meeting. On the pre-test, blacks were more apt to recommend that the parent "Organize with other parents to prevent anyone entering the school, thus closing the school down until improvements are made." But on the post-test, blacks rejected this fairly strong measure.

Finally, blacks and whites had similar views on the hypothetical question, "You are a black parent. Would you want racially integrated or all black schools for your children?" On the pre-test, more blacks selected "Integrated, because a racial mix in the classroom is a better educational experience." (40% blacks versus 12% whites). There were no racial differences on the post-test.

In short, pre-post tests and checklists indicate that urban black and white students in an integrated situation have relatively similar views about racial matters themselves and about studying such topics in school.